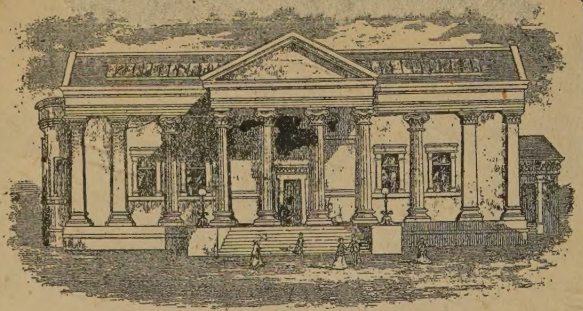
History and Poetry of the Scottish Border

Professor Veitch



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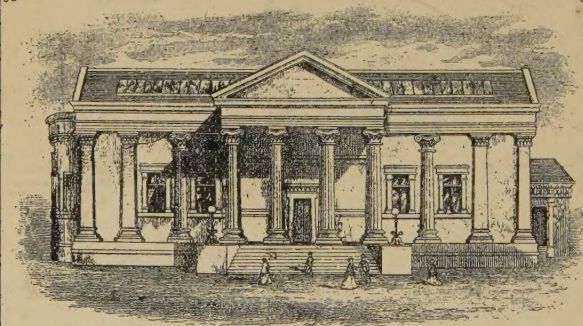

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THE

HISTORY AND POETRY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER

Nec pastores jam spernere tutum est
Quando etiam in solas migrat sapientia sylvas.

THE

HISTORY AND POETRY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER

THEIR MAIN FEATURES AND RELATIONS

BY

JOHN VEITCH, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF LOGIC AND RHETORIC IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION

IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

In this second and greatly enlarged edition of *The History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, the aim and scope of the original book are preserved. Much new matter has been added, and many portions of the first edition have been rewritten. The first volume refers mainly to the history, the second to the poetry of the Border.

The Loaning, Peebles, 1893.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

In this volume I do not propose to write a complete history of the Scottish Border, or even to give the series of its picturesque episodes. I have sought mainly to trace the outlines of Border History, to give in the order of development its salient characteristics, and to show how these, in connection with the scenery of the district, have issued in its rich and stirring ballad and song. Many an evening of poring over old documents this volume has cost me; and many a day, under lowering as well as sunny skies, have I spent in seeing for myself the scenes of the historical and traditional incidents. There is thus hardly one name of a place in this volume which is not to me

a vivid impression. I cannot expect the majority of readers, or even many of them, to share the intensity of feeling which the associations connected with those names create in my mind; but there is, I trust, enough of historical delineation, and enough of the poetry peculiar to the Border land, to enable the reader to follow, with some interest, its life of the past, and to feel the spirit of its song.

The Loaning, Peebles, 1878.

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BORDER HISTORY AND POETRY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BORDER COUNTRY—GENERAL ASPECT —GEOLOGY AND SCENERY.

The district which stretches from the Firth of Forth, and from the line of the wall of Antonine southwards to the Cheviots, the shore of the Solway and the Irish Sea, has long borne the name of The Lowlands of Scotland. Occasionally, and more definitely, it has been called The Southern Lowlands. *Lowland*, as thus applied, is an epithet used broadly to distinguish this part of the country from the greater heights of the northern Highlands, and the term is not particularly appropriate. There is no doubt a large plain on the northern boundary extending along the Firths of Forth and Clyde to the Western Sea; and here and there within the district itself are long stretches of haugh or flat land. But any one who views the region from one of its higher hills will be struck with the

predominating mountainous appearance of the country, and will almost wonder how it can support the population it does. There are aspects of it thus seen which may even tempt one to put the question as to how man has come to secure a footing amid its wilds at all. Its most prominent feature is the great backbone of hills, which stretches from Loch Ryan on the south-west to St Abb's Head on the north-east, cut across now and again by a water-course, but still fairly continuous from sea to sea. These occupy by themselves and their offshoots the greater part of the area of the region. In Tweeddale and in Galloway they rise to a height of upwards of 2700 feet, and for long miles of country they are more than 2000 feet above sea-level. The district has thus appropriately been called *The Southern Uplands.* By peculiarities of physical feature, by a very ancient history, by fusion of races, by language and social manners, by the written and unwritten poetry of its people, these southern uplands have so influenced the whole history of Scotland, that without considering them we cannot understand our present nationality; and apart from them that nationality would not have been as it is.

It is with a part of this district that I propose at present mainly to deal. This is the valley of the Tweed and its tributaries. The Tweed is, for a considerable part of its course, the dividing line between the northern and southern parts of Britain, between Scotland and England. The valley through which it flows, and the glens watered by its tributary streams, form the main area of the Border District. If to these we add the valleys of the Liddel and the Esk, we have what was

characteristically the Border Land of Scotland, the land of foray and feud, the land of hostile inroad from England, of hostile aggression in return, all through the middle ages down to the Union of the Crowns. For wherever the final battle-field was pitched in Scotland, the Southerner, unless he had come by sea, which was rare, had already left mark of brand and sword on his way through the pastoral haughs and green glens made beautiful by the Tweed, the Teviot, and the Liddel. The Tweed, besides being, for a considerable way, the boundary-line between the two kingdoms, at least since the middle ages, is, looking to its course from the wilds of Tweedsmuir, the bright centre of the Lowland country. Historically the river has been even its heart, so far at least as strong bold action, the gradual growth of history, tradition, legend, the continuous flow of song, ballad, and music, wholly native, have moved the feelings and moulded the imagination, not only of the people of the district, but of the whole land of Scotland.

The Border country of old was, strictly speaking, divided into three districts, known as the East, Middle, and West Marches, each having its warden or wardens. The East March was co-extensive with the sheriffdom of Berwick; the Middle embraced the sheriffdoms of Selkirk, Peebles, and Roxburgh, including the lordship of Liddesdale; the West comprehended, as a rule, the dales of Esk, Ewes, Wauchope, Annan, and Nith, and Galloway beneath and above Cree.[1] Though the power of the respective wardens and the sphere of the Border laws extended so far westward, the Nith was practically

[1] Cf. R. B. Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, 1.

the boundary to the west of the perturbed Border land. The district of the East and Middle Marches, from its proximity to the Border line, and the West March as far as Nithsdale, in which lay the notorious Debateable Land, were the most common scenes of hostile encounter, raids, and reprisals. The East and Middle Marches are those specially mentioned in the legislation of 1553.[1] The land from Tweeddale on the north and east, bounded by the Lammermuirs, to Nithsdale on the west and south, was the land of Border story, ballad, and song. The district to the east of Nithsdale, stretching to the Cheviots and the German Sea, was the land of the Border Minstrelsy and of its outcome,—its finest bloom,—in Walter Scott. The country from Nithsdale to the Western Sea is the land of Robert Burns. Burns and Scott join hands at the Nith.

But we must first of all try to get a view of the natural features of this district of the Tweed and its tributaries; for natural features help to make and mould the character of the people, and, directly or indirectly, give a cast and colouring to those feelings, fancies, and imaginings that find outlet in song and ballad.

A very ordinary acquaintance with geology enables one to see that the district through which flow the Tweed, the Yarrow, and the Teviot is a part, in fact the central part, of that Silurian or greywacke system of rock that stretches from Loch Ryan on the south-west to St Abb's Head on the north-east, from the Western Sea to the German Ocean. The Silurian rocks of which these hills are composed consist of hard and much-

[1] Nicolson's *Leges Marchiarum, or Border Laws*, 99 (ed. 1705).

crumpled strata, and form the basis of the whole district. Any subsequent deposit, such as the sandstones of the Coal period and the breccias of Permian time, has been laid in the hollows scooped out of these primitive rocks. But indeed there is very little of any such later deposits. The land, since the Silurian sediments were consolidated and upheaved above the sea, has been shaped by ice, water, and sub-atmospheric influences, until it has at last been carved into its present form. The oldest of the streams are perhaps those, such as the Biggar, the Lyne, and the Eddleston, which flow from the north-west to the south-east before joining the Tweed. These run through the transverse valleys of the district, and are, as a rule, the most featureless and the least interesting in scenery. The Tweed, from its source in Tweed's Well, about a hundred miles from the sea, flows from south-west to north-east, and cuts its channel through the bare Silurian rocks, passing clearly in stream and pool over its bed of water-worn stones.

Its course is peculiar. Rising in the south-west it tends to the north-east. But it has to contend with the influence of the transverse streams of the district. When it reaches the Lyne Water, twenty-one miles from its source, it is bent towards the south-east; and this direction is increased at the Eddleston Water, which joins it three miles below the Lyne at Peebles. Where the Gala and the Leader join the main stream, this south-easterly deflection is increased. On the other hand, at its junction with the Manor, the Quair, the Ettrick including the Yarrow, and the Teviot, it tends to take a north-easterly direction, until finally this tendency pre-

vails; for though in its course it curves to the south-east, it reaches the sea at a higher degree of north latitude than it had before attained in its most north-easterly bend in Tweedsmuir. It thus represents a wavy line of force steadily pursuing its way to an end or point. The confluent streams of north-west and south-east unite in harmony in its peaceful valley, and murmur in one full flow along its green hillsides and through its tranquil haughs—a fitting boundary-line between the old hostile kingdoms—the opposing forces of north and south.

When the Tweed bursts from the hills to the plain below Melrose, and then flows through a rich well-wooded strath to the sea, it touches on rocks much younger than the Silurian strata of the hills. These are the Upper Old Red Sandstone and the subsequent Carboniferous deposits. In the Cheviots we find felstone, besides a vast mass of volcanic material belonging to the Lower Old Red Sandstone; while Carboniferous strata stretch from the flanks of those hills into Liddesdale. The lowlands of Dumfriesshire are partly Carboniferous and partly of still younger date. But the Silurian system is the true ground-frame of the district of the Tweed and its tributaries; and this shows very little of the covering of subsequent geological strata. It appears, in truth, except for the grass, the heather, and the wild flowers of the hills, very much as it was left by the sea and the ice of innumerable ages ago. These bare greywacke heights and haughs, unblessed by aught of late geological bounty or luxuriousness, have had a great deal to do in making and moulding the hardy, sinewy men who have

lived among them for the many hundreds of years of British and Scottish story. But we may probably also be grateful that, while there was little to enrich the human nature there, the green hills and the grey rocks have helped at least to quicken and nourish the pathos and the quiet reverence of the heart.

Long ago this region was wholly, or in great part, under the ocean; and where the highest hills now catch the first glimmer of the early sun, the waves broke in foam, and sea-birds shrieked and flew amid the war of waters. "The long belt of high ground between St Abb's Head and St Patrick's Channel is an ancient sea-bottom; the broad green tops, dotted to-day with sheep and grouse and blackcock, took their levelled outline under the grinding power of the breakers, and partly, perhaps, of drift-ice borne by ocean currents."[1] This submergence seems, according to the same authority, to have taken place so far back as during the lapse of the geological period known as the Old Red Sandstone. After this epoch there came an upheaval of the land,—probably very gradual,—the rocks having been already hardened, crushed, and elevated into ridges. There would doubtless be inequalities of surface even at this early period, but probably the general appearance was that of an extended table-land. This, exposed to the action of rain and frost, would gradually become shaped and carved into valleys and river-basins. Long after the land had been moulded into nearly its present form, there came a period when the whole surface down to the sea was covered with a great ice-sheet, sealing it as rigidly

[1] Sir A. Geikie, *Scenery of Scotland*, chap. ix.

as Greenland is sealed from hill to sea at the present day.[1]

During this great ice period there seems to have been again a submergence of the land under the sea, to the extent, as variously estimated, of from 500 to 2000 feet, and probably the consequent flow and action of icebergs which would touch and grind down at least the higher portions of the sunken area. At length there came a time, known as the second or subsequent glacial epoch, when the land, having been once more upheaved, was again covered by one unbroken ice-surface, until this began gradually to disappear, and glaciers only lay on the greater heights, and moved outwards down the valleys. We have evidence of this glacier action in numerous moraines, particularly towards the heads of the waters that come down from the greater heights of the district,—as Polmood Burn from Broadlaw (2754 feet), Manor Water from Notman and Dollar Law (2680), and Winterhope Burn from Loch Craig Head (2625), where a series of moraines stretching across the high valley bar the way and dam back on the east and south the waters of Loch Skene. Professor Young of Glasgow has shown in a most interesting paper the extent of the glacier remains in Upper Tweeddale, and that these are not found at a lower elevation than 1000 feet above sea-level. The point has also been treated with much skill and grace by Sir Archibald Geikie.[2] Speaking of the moraines near Loch Skene, he says: "Everything around tells of the old glaciers. Mound after mound stretching in crescent shape across the valley, and coming

[1] *Scenery and Geology of Scotland*, chap. xi. [2] *Ibid.*

down in irregular piles from the Midlaw Corry on the left, huges masses of rock still perilously poised on the summits of the ridges where they had been tumbled by the ice that bore them from yonder dark cliffs, and then the lake itself so impressively the result of the damming back of the water by the bars of detritus thrown across the glen."

The enormous lapse of time since the Carboniferous period may well account for the denudation, rounding, smoothing, and the wavy sculpture of the hills which they now present to the eye; for while rains and frosts and water-flow may make and accentuate cleugh and scaur in the valleys, they certainly help to soften and smooth the higher tops and slopes of the Lowland heights. The working of the ice-sheets, the movements of the glaciers and their streams, the influence of rain, of frost and mountain-spring, of burn and water-flow, supervening through a countless series of years, upon the original table-land worn into a plain by the action of the sea, scooped and hollowed this old sea-plain into glens and hopes, rounded and smoothed the hill-tops and hill-sides, left them here scaured red and deep, and there rich in pastoral green, gave us wavy lines of hills as if arrested in water-flow,—gave us, in a word, the district we live in as the product of the sculpture of the unseen powers of those long gone years.

These greywacke rocks of the southern uplands, called Lower Silurian, are simply hardened sea-sand and mud, and of softer texture than the rocks of the Highlands. They were thus more subject to the power of abrasion, —smoothing and rounding,—and hence we find in the

southern uplands quite different forms and outlines from those of the north of Scotland. We have nothing, for example, corresponding to the horizontal strata and battlemented fronts of the mountains of Torridon sandstone as they face the waves of the Atlantic on the western coast of Ross and Inverness—the rock-castles of nature. And the long, smooth, flowing, wavy line of the southern hills is seldom broken by the conical form which the quartzite mountains of the north generally assume,—though here and there where thicker and more indurated masses of greywacke form the summits we have conically pointed tops—as, for example, on the opposite sides of the Leithen Water near its source. The "gnarled craggy outline," ruggedness, and "spiry summits" which characterise the more quartzose of the gneisses and schists are awanting—unless in some portions of the district to the west of Nithsdale. We have not, moreover, anything which we can set alongside the crags, precipices, and corries which strike and arrest the eye in the granite heights of Ben Aven, Ben Macdhui, or Cairn Toul. Yet in the inner recesses, the sacred heart, of the southern uplands,—as in Glenrath and Blackhouse, Polmood and Glenheurie, Gameshope and Talla, up Winterhope, on Donald's Cleugh, and by Loch Skene, in Carrifran and Blackhope, in the eastern dip of Hartfell, at the head of Ettrick, and still more in the wilds of Carrick and Galloway,—there are precipices steep and corries grey and deep, and crags and scaurs, and long down-spreading screes of wasted rock, which bespeak those limitless powers at work in a far past time that make and mar the world, and impress us with a sense of

loneliness, grandeur, and pathetic contrast with the soft environing verdure, as is done by no other combination of scenery I know. And walk and watch them through night to early morn, and then you will know their true power :—

> "O' night, their broad brows shimmer
> In the white and weird moontide ;
> In their glens far down and awesome
> Dim haunting shapes abide."

The hills of the Tweed and the Borders generally have not the variety of rock-colour to be found in the Highlands. The pure white of the quartzite, except in isolated patches, the dark red of the walled Torridon —"the silvery sheen of the mica, and the glance of the felspar or the garnets," are awanting. But these hills have a charm of their own, and taking them through the year, especially from spring to Christmas, they show a wonderfully varied colouring, more so a great deal than certain vaunted districts of the Highlands. The Silurian rocks are generally light grey when weather-worn, when splintered or cut a fine rich blue, capable of glistening beautifully after a shower. They are frequently crusted with varied mosses and lichens on the hills and moorlands. But as a rule, the rock, in the form of knob or crag, breaks the surface only occasionally. During summer the prevailing colour of the Border heights is green—the peculiar green of the hillside,—a constant refreshment to the eye, its uniformity ever and anon broken and relieved by the sheen of the bracken and the fern, by interspaces of heather-bloom, and, on the far moorland heights, by the delicate tint

and graceful antlers of the spreading stag-horn moss, by the pine-like spikes of the crowberry, glossy fields of blaeberry, and the rich and varying hues of the red bilberry or Idæan vine. One characteristic feature in the colouring of those hills is the hue of the *screes* or *sclidders*, the broken slaty greywacke rock, which spreads out in slanting spaces on the hillsides, and after rain is bright with the shimmer of the shower, and then shows like a violet mass amid the surrounding green. And these high broad hill-tops have a strange affinity with the far-stretching sky above them, in all changes of atmosphere. They reflect with wondrous exactness the shadows from the passing clouds. They have a strange power of fusion with the heavens when they bear the mists on their tops; and they seem to pass into and become one with the light and the sunny air of a summer day; and of an afternoon, when the shadows from the west dim the long flowing eastern slopes, and the sun-gleam still rests on the summits, there is an unspeakable power of contrast and pathetic grandeur for eye and heart. Earth and sky seem to meet in brief but beautiful reconcilement.[1]

Those long, rounded, far-spreading heights, seldom visited—spaces of dreamy solitude and soul-subduing pathos—are never at any season of the year without their charm. Early June decks them with a tender green, in which are set the yellow violet, the tormentil, and the rock-rose—slenderest, dearest of hillside flowers. Even then, too, the cloudberry on the higher summits

[1] This and the following paragraph are from the letterpress contributed by me to the *River Tweed*.

lifts its snow-white blossom from the heart of the black peat-moss. Midsummer deepens and enriches the bloom, and brings the bracken in the lush green of the year. In early August the braes and moors are touched and brightened with the two kinds of the heather-bell, ere they gradually flush deep in large breaks of the common purple heather. Autumn, late autumn, throws the tender beauty of fading colour over the heather-bloom; and the bent of the moorland,—"the bent sae brown" of the old ballads, that knew and felt many a blood-stain in long gone foray and feud—that bent amid which in the grey dawn of Border legend and poetry the Queen of Faëry took her leave of Thomas of Ercildoune,—throws in October days its tresses free to the wind, with a waesome grace, touching the heart as with the hushed life of old story. And in winter the snow wraps those hills in a robe so meet that their statuesque outlines are seen and followed in their entireness and in their minute details as at no other time, standing against the heavens in the clear relief of forms new as it were from the sculptor's hand.

"Oft on the morn of winter
I've seen your grey crags stand,
White crowned in snowy radiance,
The joy of all the land."

There can be little doubt that in the earliest historic time the Border country was covered with wood. The Celtic inhabitants were found by the Romans in their forests; and in England, particularly, later Teutonic settlements were made through clearances of growing

timber.[1] This, no doubt, applied also to the Lowlands of Scotland. We have still names that indicate felling and clearing, in Jedderfield, Hutcheonfield, and Aikerfield. The land was a forest wherever soil and elevation permitted wood to grow. In the channels of the streams, even at a considerable height, we find alternate sand and peat-moss, and inlaid there are birken boles, more than 1000 feet above sea-level, as in the hollow at Manorhead. These may doubtless have been laid down in prehistoric times. But we have the testimony of Roman authors to the abundance of wood all over the portion of Britain they knew, and we have the record of the great clearances effected by the Emperor Severus. The extensive area covered by the old forests of the south of Scotland, which may be taken as including the vales of the Ettrick, the Yarrow, the Meggat, the Quair, the Caddon, and part of the Tweed, was but the remains of that great and ancient forest of Caledon—*Coit Celidon*—which stretched across the west of Scotland, including Cadzow, portions of Renfrew and Ayr, and the Carses by and beyond the Forth, piercing northwards to the great plain bounded by the Highland mountains.[2] In the Border country, particularly in the secluded dales of Ettrick and Yarrow, there was abundant wood. It is possible even that the name of the original inhabitants of at least a portion of the Border district,

[1] See Green, *Making of England*, passim.

[2] "The water of Clyde divideth Lennox on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it arises out of the same hill in Calidon Wood, from whence the Annand falleth."—Holinshed, *History*, i. iv., quoted in an interesting article on Merlin by Mr Arthur Grant in the *Scottish Review*, October 1892.

—Gadeni or Cadeni,—meant dwellers in the wood. Looking now at the ragged thorns and stunted birks and lowly rowans on the bare hillsides of that district, we can hardly fancy that it was once a forest in the ordinary sense of that word. Yet the evidence is clear to this effect. David I., in his charter to the Abbey of Selkirk, authorised the monks to cut wood for building or fuel as freely as he himself did.[1] In 1291 Edward I. commanded Simon Fresel, keeper of the forest of Selkirk, to give to certain persons a number of oaks from the forest.[2] In 1303-4 he built a large peel at Selkirk (*Pelum de Selkirk*) partly out of the wood of the forest.[3] The same monarch granted forty oaks to the monks of Melrose.[4] David II. gave permission to the monks of Kelso to cut trees in Selkirk and Jedwart forests for restoration of the abbey, which had been burned by the English. Some cutting was authorised in 1496, and the wood near Kirkhope, said to be the largest in the forest, survived in part at least as late as 1749. And we have the tradition that in last century one could walk from Selkirk to Ettrick, eighteen miles distant, under the shadow of the ancient trees.

It is probable that the higher and more exposed sides and summits were bare of wood in old times as now; but in the valleys and haughs of the waters, and well up the hillsides, was found abundance of native trees. The birch, hawthorn, sallow-thorn, and the mountain-ash grew in the hollows, the latter showing a marked preference

[1] Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, i. 88, and *Charter*.
[2] *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 5 (T. C. Brown, *Selkirkshire*, chaps. iii., iv.)
[3] *Cal. Doc. Scotland*, iv. 468, 469.
[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. (*Caledonia*, ii. 982).

for the hillsides. The alder fringed the streams. Being comparatively free from sheep and cattle, their forms were no doubt more bushy and rounded than we now find them on the pastured haughs and hills. They would form a dense underwood. Mingled with these, and generally towering above them, was the Scotch fir, the ash, and the oak. Add to these an undergrowth of raspberry and wild rose on the braes,—the juniper, the bracken, the fern, interspaces of the strong-spreading common heather,—and you have a fair picture of what these southern valleys and uplands were in the time when Lowland Scotland was shared by Cymri, Angle, and Scandinavian, ere Scotland itself had grown into a kingdom, and even for centuries afterwards, until sheep and axe and natural decay completed the sweeping away of the native forest.[1] Down through the time of the Stuarts even, the district was a well-wooded shelter for hart and hind, for doe and roe:—

"Ettricke foreste is a feir foreste,
In it grows many a semelie trie;
There's hart and hynde, and dae and rae,
And of a' wild bestis grete plentie.

. . . . .

The King was comin' through Caddon Ford,
And full five thousand men was he;
They saw the derke foreste them before,
They thought it awesome for to see."[2]

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[1] For an interesting account of the native trees of the forest, see a paper entitled *Howebottom*, by Rev. James Farquharson of Selkirk, Berwickshire Club, 1878. John of Fordun corroborates the view of the text: "Quorum vero montium circa radices nemora sunt ingentia, cervis, damulis, aliisque feris silvestribus diversa generis et bestiis referta."—*Scotorum Historia*, vii. 590 (ed. Gale).

[2] *The Ballad of the Outlaw Murray.*

The reference here is without doubt to the early part of the sixteenth century, to the time of James IV. ere he went to Flodden. The forest of Meggat or Rodono on one occasion yielded 500 head of game—bird and beast of chase—and at another time eighteen score of deer, as late as the days of James V. and Mary; and we know that the red-deer abounded for centuries all over the Lowland hills, where they were hunted by horse, hound, and horn. In the time of Mary we have a proclamation limiting and prohibiting the slaughter of deer in the forest on account of their growing scarcity (August 1566); and there was a similar order in June 1576. Evidently the deer were dying, or rather being shot, out. The Lochs of Sinton and Haining have yielded antlers of the red-deer and remains of the *Bos primigenius*. Horns of the elk are said to have been found in Mount Bog, Kirkurd, Peeblesshire.[1]

It is this bareness of green hillside, emphasised, not relieved, by an occasional dwarfed thorn, birk, or rowan, suggestive of the forest now swept away, which gives in great measure the charm of pathos to the hopes and glens of Yarrow and Ettrick. It was this feature which impressed both Wordsworth and Scott,—especially the latter,—whose fancy thrilled to the past with its touching contrast:—

> "Yon Thorn,—perchance whose prickly spears
> Have fenced him for three hundred years,
> While fell around his green compeers,—
> Yon lonely Thorn, would he could tell
> The changes of his parent dell,

[1] *New Statistical Account, Peeblesshire*, 128.

Since he, so grey and stubborn now,
Waved in each breeze a sapling bough:
Would he could tell how deep the shade
A thousand mingled branches made;
How broad the shadows of the oak,
How clung the rowan to the rock,
And through the foliage showed his head
With narrow leaves and berries red."

Early in this century "a person of quality" from England, having visited Tweeddale, was asked on his return home to describe the district. His answer was that this was easy enough; it could be done in three words—"a Hill, a Road, and a Water." This brief account was no doubt very characteristic of the district at that period; for in the early part of the century there was almost nothing but natural wood, and very little of that, except at Neidpath and Dawyck. Some birks, hazels, and rowans clustered on the hillsides, and in the glens beside the burn-pools; and, as now, there were some alders by the Tweed. Since then there has been a great deal of planting, but, unfortunately, not of a commendable sort. Most of the plantations are absolutely monotonous, wholly fir or larch, unrelieved by the slightest mixture of other trees. Here and there, particularly on the heights that surround the House of Dawyck, there appear, as the product of a cultured yet natural taste, woods rich in variety of leafage, and set in wonderfully harmonious outlines.[1] But, taking the valley as a whole, it was more pleasing to the eye in last century, ere the hand of man had touched and

[1] These woods were designed and planted by the late proprietor, Sir John Murray Naesmyth.

marred it. The slopes of the hills that ran down to the great haugh of the Tweed were, as yet, green pastoral braes, unbroken by plough and harrow, and unadorned by masses of larch poles, each looking like a half-opened umbrella in summer, and the whole like a dull brown blanket in autumn. The heights of the district did not then show as if they had been curiously patched in needy places by bits of cloth different from their original garment, and they were free from shapes of wood that now look like arms *minus* bodies, again like bodies *minus* arms, now like a tadpole, and then like a soup-ladle. The people of last century were spared appearances of this sort, and instead of these they had simply hills, roads, and waters. We may, however, in an æsthetical interest, be thankful that, notwithstanding unshapely planting and ambitious uptearing of the hillsides, the salient features of Tweeddale are still the natural ones —"the Hills and the Waters." To get a picture in our mind of the district, we must take up these, and combine them; and the best way of doing this is to get actually or in imagination to the summit of our highest main ridge of hills. Let us suppose, then, that we have got somehow to the top of Broad Law, which is 2754 feet above sea-level. We are now on the summit of the range of mountains of the greatest average height in the south of Scotland. The range is seen to run eastward, with the valley of the Tweed on the north, and that of the Meggat on the south, through the heights of Cramalt Craig, Dun Law, and Dollar Law. At the Dollar Law, it branches to the north-east through Pykestone and Scrape, until it disappears in the haugh of the Tweed at Barns;

and at the same point it slopes round Manorhead to the south-east, and rises gradually into the series of hills which run from the head of Glengaber Burn, under the names of the Blackhouse and Hundleshope Heights, and branch off at the head of Glensax through the Dun Rig into the Newby ridge; having the valley of the Yarrow on the south, and that of the Manor on the north. This high mountain-land is the backbone of Tweeddale. From it flow, to the north-east, its principal glens and streams; and from it, in the course of ages, have been worn down by ice-action and by water those alluvial deposits that make the fertile haugh-land of the valley of the Tweed, and the rich verdure in the hollows of the waters and burns.

Once on the summit of the height, we find immediately around us a vast level plain, with short and scanty herbage, chiefly hill-mosses and lichens. All trace and feeling of man, of planting, ploughing, building, have disappeared. We are absolutely alone—alone with earth and sky, save for the occasional cry of a startled sheep and the summer hum of insects on the hill-top—

> "That undefined and mingled hum,
> Voice of the desert, never dumb."

Here and there a very tiny yellow-faced tormentilla, a very slender blue-eyed harebell, or a modest hill violet, peeps timorously out on the barrenness, like an orphan that has strayed on the wild. But we look around us from this great height, and what strikes the eye? On all sides, but particularly to the east of us, innumerable rounded broad hill-tops run in series of parallel flowing

ridges, chiefly from the south-west to the north-east, and between the ridges we note that there is enclosed in each a scooped-out glen, in which we know that a burn or water flows. These hill-tops follow each other in wavy outline. One rises, flows, falls, passes softly into another. This again rises, flows, and passes into another beyond itself; and thus the eye reposes on the long soft lines of a sea of hills, whose tops move and yet do not move, for they carry our vision along their undulating flow, themselves motionless, lying like an earth-ocean in the deep, quiet calm of their statuesque beauty.

Near us are the heads of the burns, and the heads of the glens, which, on the one hand, run northward to the Tweed, and on the other southward to the Yarrow. Here; at one burn-head, we have deep, peaty bogs, out of which ooze black trickling rills; there, at another, we have a well-eye, fringed with bright mosses, and fair forget-me-not of purer hue and more slender form than any that the valley can show. The burn gathers strength and makes its way down through a deep red scaur and amid grey-bleached boulder-stones; then, overshadowed by the boughs of a solitary rock-rooted birch, leaps through a sunny fall to a strong, deep eddying pool. At length it reaches the hollow of the glen, where it winds round and round, amid links of soft green pasture, amid sheen of bracken and glow of heather,—passes a solitary herd's house—the only symbol of human life there—now breaks against a dark-grey opposing rock, then spreads itself out before the sunlight in soft music amid its stones. Finally, leaving the line of hills that shut in the glen on each side, the stream mingles with one of

the waters of the south, or with the Tweed itself on the north of the central range of mountains.

This central mountain of Broad Law, or Braid Alb as it was formerly called,[1] commands a view of nearly the whole Border-land of Scotland. The hills, the dales, the waters of this district are all before you—either distinctly to be seen or capable of localisation. The eye can sweep from Nithsdale on the west to the dales of Yarrow, Ettrick, and Teviot on the south and east. The long blue line of the Cheviots, called of old the Montes Ordeluci, bounds the southern horizon.[2] The far-stretching valley of the Tweed is before you. Most of the incidents and the struggles of Border, even national story, are borne on the names of the district within your ken. Follow the line of the Tweed from its source in Tweed's Well, a little to the south-west, not far from the historic Tweed's Cross, and note the names. There is the wild moorland of Erickstane, dividing the Tweed from the Annan, where the good Sir James of Douglas first met the Bruce, and joined hands with the man by whom he stood until the national independence was secured. There farther down the valley is Oliver Castle—the *Castrum Oliveri* of the twelfth century — recalling its feudal lord, Sir Simon Fraser, the hero of Roslin, and the unwavering friend till death of William Wallace. Then there is the now ruinous line of old castles and peels—flanking the banks of the river, and eyeing each other from their knowes all along the valley from the Bield

[1] See Armstrong's Map.

[2] Ferchius, *Vita Joannis Duns Scotus*, 1 : Bononiæ, 1622 — "Montes Ordeluci, vulgo Cheviot, ubi olim Pictorum regnum."

to Berwick, ready of old to flash the warning beacon-flame over a hundred miles of country, and speaking yet of countless local deeds and raids, of the old rough life with its heroism, faithfulness, tenderness, its love and sorrow. Along that far-stretching line of river-flow—"the Flood of the Tweed," as it is called in the Border laws—stand out, if not all to the eye, at least to the memory, the fortresses of Neidpath and Traquair, Wark, Norham, and Berwick; and the stream on its way passes the battle-fields of Melrose and Halidon Hill; and there over in Yarrow is Philip-haugh, with Minchmuir, that lent its old bridle-path for the flight of Montrose. In Teviotdale, which you see in the dim distance holding up before you Penchryse Pen, the Paps, and Windburgh, are the battle-fields of Hadden Rig and Ancrum Moor, with the storied castles of Roxburgh and Branksome. And away in the far south-west, behind the faint outline of Great Moor, lies Hermitage Castle, in the sweet green valley of the Hermitage Water, with its memories of the gruesome fate of its lord De Soulis in the cauldron on the Nine-stane Rig, of the Dark Knight of Liddesdale—the flower of chivalry — of the coarse Bothwell, and hapless Mary Stuart. And on a tolerably clear day you can descry from this summit of Braid Alb the long unbroken line of the Cheviots, with the Carter Fell for centre, as they run eastwards to Wooler, bearing down into the valley of the sluggish Till the spur on which Flodden was fought. These and many more that might be named are the historic places of mediæval Scottish story—all lying in the landscape before you that stretches from the Tweed to

the English march—some of them of bright, others of gloomy memory, as one may see from this high top of Braid Alb, on a varying summer day, a mountain-face happy in a glint of sunshine, while beyond on its compeer there falls the darkening shadow from the cloud.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT REMAINS, AND ORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

THE question arises: What of the people who lived in the past in this district? Were they of more than one race, and if so, what were those races?

With this point in view, we may look first at the oldest and rudest relics of human work in the district,—possibly the dwellings and forts of the original and successive tribes.

Of these we have at least three distinct classes. We have, first, the "Forts," generally curvilinear, of the lower hills and knowes,—sometimes in the plains. We have, secondly, the Ringed Enclosures of the ancient morasses and the lowest hill-slopes. We have, thirdly, the Motes or Moats. These all refer at least to human uses.

The most numerous and the most perfectly preserved remains on the hills of the Border Lowlands are those works variously known as *camps, forts,* or *rings.* Popularly and most erroneously they are designated *Roman,*—a title to which they have absolutely no claim. We have Roman remains, even camps, but these are of a wholly different character. Those forts or mounded

enclosures are most commonly to be found on the lower hills of the district, or on the knowes projecting from the slopes of the higher hills, as they fall downwards to the valley of a burn or water. They are occasionally discovered in the valley itself, but this is rare, owing partly, no doubt, to cultivation,—the action of the popularly blessed plough. There is one rather good example of a fort in a haugh—in fact, in a peat-bog—on the farm of Cademuir, in Manor, close to what in the old leases is very suggestively called the Welsh Burn. But, as a rule, the elevation of those forts is from 400 or 500 to about 1400 feet. A site of 1000 feet is a very common one. The form is almost universally circular or oval. This predominates greatly in the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Lanark, and Dumfries.[1] Selkirkshire, curiously enough, shows comparatively few remains of this kind, though it contains the fine example of the Rink Fort, and several others, chiefly along the line of the Catrail. In Dumfriesshire we have several well-defined examples of rectilinear, generally square, enclosures—as Birrenswark, the Garpol Camp, two in Wamphray Glen, and Frenchland, near Moffat. One markedly triangular occurs in Liddesdale, near the junction of the Caddroun Water with the Liddel. It is curious to find other examples of the rectilinear form not far from this, in Eskdale at Raeburn Foot, and further down the valley, one near Gilnockie, measuring 1400 by 700 feet. The area, either flat or sometimes hollowed, is enclosed by a trench, with inner mound

[1] Dr Christison gives the proportion of rectilinear to curvilinear in Dumfries as 22 to 206.

of earth, or earth and stone, or stone merely,—apparently not a simple pile, but dry-stone masonry. Some of the largest of those forts are surrounded by a carefully built dry-stone wall. Thus the commanding fort on Caerby Hill, on the east of the Liddel, between this stream and the Kershope Burn forming the boundary between Scotland and England, has a wall or dyke of dry-stone, extending to nearly 320 yards in circumference. The other great fort on the top of Tinnis Hill (1400 feet), on the west bank of the Liddel, near Whisgills, is surrounded by an oval wall of the same sort, with a circumference of about 220 yards. Masonry of the same kind appears in the Cardrona Fort on the Tweed, and in some of the Cademuir forts. It has been supposed that forts of this kind, in which provision for defence was made by masonry as opposed to trench and earthen mound, were of an earlier date, and that the idea of fosse and agger was borrowed from the Romans. Mr Jeffrey notes that the forts with ditch and mound in Roxburghshire are generally square, with rounded edges, and holds them to be imitations of Roman work.[1] In the majority of the circular or oval forts there is more than one surrounding trench—two, three, even four, though the latter is rare, with corresponding mounds or terraces. In some instances the extra trench is not carried completely round the enclosed area, but is dug as a defence at weak points. Even when there is but a single trench, this is often only semicircular, a means of defence in its place being supplied by the slope of the ground, and probably a dry-stone wall, as is the

[1] *Roxburghshire*, i. 193.

case on the Charge Law, Kailzie, and in Chester Hill on Hundleshope. Of course the whole circle would be palisaded. The smaller forts have a diameter of from 150 to 200 feet. The larger, such as Milkiston and Northshiels in Peeblesshire, measure respectively 550 by 450 feet, and 450 by 370 feet. A central area with a diameter of 200 feet is not uncommon.

In some cases there is to be found alongside the fort an outlying area or detached rampart of considerable dimensions, of a horse-shoe or crescent shape, defended by trench and mound. We have examples of this strong and well-designed barricade at Milkiston on the Eddleston Water, and Kittlegairy on the Soonhope Burn, both in Peeblesshire. One very common feature of those forts—especially in the shires of Peebles and Lanark—is that they show signs of circular foundations within the enclosed area. These are well marked on the Cardie Hill Fort above Eshiels, where even now you find a semicircle of dry-stone masonry 2½ feet high and 18 feet in curvature; and in the Charge Law Fort on Kailzie, where recent excavation has shown the central dwelling to be surrounded by a wall built of dry stones quarried with earth for mortar.[1] In the Caerby Fort in Roxburghshire, already referred to, there are vestiges of several oval-shaped dwellings, clustering round a central enclosure of considerable size. The entrance is almost universally on the south-east side, at least in Peeblesshire.[2] In the *pronaos*

[1] August 29, 1892.

[2] Mr Chambers, in his *History of Peeblesshire*, tells us there are "upwards of fifty forts in the county." He is quite within the limits of truth in this statement. In the list which he prints he has omitted a considerable number, among these several of great importance. Dr David Christison has supplied certain of those omissions in a very interesting and well-

of temples in the Peloponnesus the doorway is on the eastern side, towards the south. This was from the desire, common to Greek and Oriental, that the first rays of the morning sun should find their way into the temple. This feeling was apparently shared by the old Cymri. They wished this blessing for their dwellings.[1]

These hill-forts of the greatly preponderating curvilinear form are the oldest remains of human habitations in the Lowlands of Scotland of any considerable amount. There seem, however, to have been certain cave-dwellings. The red sandstone of Roxburghshire afforded facilities for excavations of this kind, and we have remains of them, chiefly on the banks of rivers. These are to be found on the Teviot near Roxburgh, the Jed at Hundalee, Lintalee, and Mossburnford, the Cayle at Grahamslaw, the Ale near Ancrum, and other places. Whether these were for occasional or permanent use is not as yet quite clear. The character of the excavation seems to point to the use of metal, and would thus bring their date nearer than the Basque or Neolithic age. We may class with the forts, probably, the circular and semicircular structures known as earth or erd houses, the foundations of which are still visible in the grand and secluded vale of Glenrath in

illustrated paper on the "Prehistoric Forts of Peeblesshire," in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for 1886-87. He gives a total of 76 forts, but he has omitted the third set of Rings on Harehope, the fort near Cademuir farmhouse by the Welsh Burn, that on the Laverlaw Burn above the shepherd's house, the ringed enclosure on Pilmuir,—a most suggestive word, the *pil* being simply the modern *peel*,—the remains on the summit of Venlaw, and others of inferior importance. I may add that I have not always found the measurements of the forts made by me personally to agree with those either of Mr Chambers or Dr Christison.

[1] *A Ride across the Peloponnese.* By George A. Macmillan. Blackwood's Travel, Adventure, and Sport Series, ii. 182.

Manor. These remains indeed may be even earlier than the rings, but this is not likely. We may perhaps also assign to the same period certain ringed enclosures in morasses and on low hill-slopes, to be noticed immediately, though, I think, some of these may be more modern. It is difficult, no doubt, definitely to name the people who constructed and used those forts, whether as habitual dwellings or means of defence. But there is sufficient evidence to warrant our referring them to the Cymri who were here in Cæsar's time, and who afterwards were incorporated in the Kingdom of Strathclyde. This conclusion is founded on the grounds alike of our general historical knowledge, the names of the forts, and their local distribution.

We know, independently of local circumstances, that the Cymri occupied the greater portion of the area of the Lowlands for several centuries after the Roman evacuation of Britain, and that they had a hard struggle against Pict, Angle, and Scot to maintain their footing in its wilds,—on its hills and in its glens. The Cymri had latterly stretched along all the west coast of the island from Cornwall to the Solway, and then in a section inlands to the Clyde. They were gradually cut into sections by the attacking Angle,—first at Deorham (577) and then at Chester (607),—until they lost all unity and common power of defence; and, harassed now by Pict and Scot as well as Angle, they were hemmed within the boundaries of Strathclyde. Those rude hill strongholds were simply their last places of retreat, ere they were finally subdued and left the district by emigration or were merged in the Kingdom of Scotland. If those forts

be not their work, they have left no traces of dwellings in the Lowlands of Scotland. This would be an instance of the absolute obliteration of a race wholly unparalleled.

The names of those forts, to say nothing meanwhile of the designations of the hills and streams on which they are situated, point clearly to this Cymric people. The generic names for a fort in Cymric are *Caer* or *Ker*, *Dinas* (*Tinnis*), *Gar* or *Gair*, *Rath*.[1] All these we have, and there is the lack of the Gaelic and Angle name. *Dùn*, the characteristic Gaelic name for a fort, is very rarely, if at all, to be met with in the area of the Strathclyde kingdom, while it abounds in Kirkcudbright and Lorne. Nor have we any quite decided example of the kind of fort indicated by it—viz., an oval or circular work of dry-stone masonry, most commonly on a mound or summit of a hill. These western *dùns* are further greatly inferior in size and area to the *caers* of Tweeddale. *Dun*, when it does occur in Strathclyde, is almost uniformly traceable to the Anglo-Saxon, as *Dun Law* and *Dun Rig*. In cases of apparently Celtic origin, as *Cardon* and *Meldon* (*Mealdun*), it may mean simply a hill. In Dumfriesshire, which lay furthest from the centre of the area of Strathclyde, *Caer* occurs in only three fort sites, *Gar* in one; whereas *Birrens*, probably Teutonic—in fact Scandinavian—occurs in twelve.[2]

Then, if we look at their local distribution, we shall find that the larger and stronger of them were con-

[1] *Rath* (from *roth*, a circle) may no doubt be claimed as Gaelic. It appears in Dumfries, Ayr, Edinburgh, Perth, and eight other counties to the north. See Robertson, *Gaelic Topography*, 490. Probably it was a word in use ere the language broke into its two divisions.

[2] Christison, *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, xxi. 207.

structed for the purpose of defending the passes into the kingdom of Strathclyde. These are to be found in the valleys of the waters and burns that open to the north, west, and south-west of the Tweed, and thus afforded passes for an enemy into the district. Thus, looking only to the central part of Strathclyde, we find that the vale of the Eddleston Water, which was open to Pict, Angle, and Frisian from the Pentlands and the Firth of Forth, is guarded on both sides—east and west—by forts, some of which are of great size and strength. They are within sight of each other, and often in groups. Harehope, with its two strong forts—lower and higher—along with those on the Meldons and at Wormiston, confronts the large and well-constructed caers of Milkiston and Northshiels on the opposite side of the water. Cairn Fort, on the Kingside Edge, is the outpost station of this skilfully planned defensive ring. Then, passing down the valley of the Tweed to the west opening, we find Soonhope Burn guarded by the fort of Kittlegairy on the east, supported by the group on Janet's Brae and the Cardie strength in Glentress, while the summit of Venlaw and Pilmuir showed two considerable forts on the west. Beyond these, south of the Tweed, the pass of the Manor was guarded by the large and formidable caers of Cademuir, that look across the Manor valley to those on Hunthill (not Houndhill, as it appears on the Ordnance Map) above Haswell Sykes, Glack, and Hallmanor; while at the foot of the hill was the caer of the Welsh Burn,[1] and Macbeth's (probably Malbeth's) Castle

[1] In a deed of sale of part of the lands of Hundleshope to the burgh of Peebles by John Scott, the laird (1655), the boundary-line is described as

stood strong on the Woodhill in the centre of the valley. The pass through the Lyne valley on the north-west was guarded by the caers of Henderland and Whiteside, on the west and east of the water. Lower down the same valley, forts on Torbank and Hamildean faced each other, and overlooked the Roman Camp at Lyne. The pass from the north by Broughton Burn was guarded by the caers of Stirkfield and Langlawhill. In the pass from Clydesdale in the west and south-west, and not far from the line of the old Pictish outlet from Galloway, stand groups of forts, including Snaip, Nisbet, and Coo Castle, affording a very formidable line of defence at a critical point. There are six within a radius of little more than a mile, and Coo Castle at once reminds us of that Cu,[1] the King of Strathclyde, who married a daughter of Kenneth Macalpine. The Vale of the Gala, which opened on the south-east boundary of Strathclyde, shows exactly the same multiplicity and strength of forts. These obviously point to a source of danger, and indicate a means of defence from the Picts of the north and the Angles of the east. The forts in the interior of Strathclyde, especially along the Tweed itself, are by no means so large, strong, and powerfully constructed as is the majority of those I have mentioned. This strong outer circle of caers shows clearly that they were raised by a people dwelling within a district that

the Hundleshope Burn "till it comes fornent Welsh Houses Walls, then taking the name of Welsh Burn, down that burn to Manor Water." The course of the burn here referred to is alongside and beyond the remains of the ancient fort.—From Document in possession of Mr Simon Linton, tenant in Cademuir.

[1] *Cu* is dog, greyhound, warrior.

was open to assault by foes on the north, south, and west,—the boundary-line of the old Cymri, and latterly of the kingdom of Strathclyde. This corresponds precisely with the position of the people of the central Lowlands, and latterly of Strathclyde after 410; for we know that they were harassed by Pict, Angle, and Frisian from the north,—by Pict of Galloway and Scot of Argyle from the south and west,—and these strongholds were the precautions they took against their numerous besetting foes. These remains indicate, in fact, the retreats of the Cymri in their last stronghold,—the Border Hills of Scotland.

This view is confirmed by a reference to the strength and position of the hill-forts in Roxburghshire—especially in Liddesdale, on the confines of the Cymric country to the south. The great strengths of Caerby and Tinnis guarded the approach from the district south of the Lariston Fells, and up the valley of the Liddel. Caerby Hill and Fort, lying between the Liddel and the Kershope Burn, was close to the line of the kingdom of Strathclyde, which bordered on Bernicia or Northumberland to the north-east, whence the hostile Angle was ready to come. It overlooks the dales of the Esk, the Liddel, the Hermitage Water, and all the southern slopes of the range of hills that divide the watersheds of the Teviot and the Liddel. The beacon-fire lit on Caerby Hill would kindle a responding flame on every ring-fort from the Solway to the eastmost boundary of Strathclyde by the Gala and the Tweed, and so north-westwards through the whole territory by Llanerch to the Clyde and Dunbriton.

We have a very curious reference to what was obviously one of those hill-forts, as far back as the time of William the Lion (1165-1214). Elena de Moreville, daughter of Richard, "the great Constable of Scotland," and widow of Roland of Galloway, gives a charter to the monks of Melrose of the land "called Harhope," in Peeblesshire. The boundaries are to run from "the head of Widhope [Widehope] towards the east, through the middle of the ridge of the hill, on to the old castle (*vetus castellarium*), and thence across to the Carelgiburne; thence by the march between the plough-land and the moor to the Harhope Burn, and descending by the latter to where these two burns meet; and ascending by the Carelgiburne to the dry ditches (*fossas siccas*) for marches, and so to the west, by the dry ditches for marches, to the ford of Widhope Burn towards Line [Lyne], and ascending by the same burn to the head of Widhope."[1] These bounds can be clearly traced to-day. The "old castle" is obviously the fort now known as Harehope Fort, or Harehope Upper Fort, situated to the east of Widehope, on the ridge of the Harehope Hill, 1295 feet above the sea. The Carelgiburne is the small burn which rises in the hope between the Upper Fort and the Lower, situated on the slope of the Crailzie Hill to the east. This and the Harehope Burn meet a little farther down in the valley. The Widehope Burn is that on the west, now known as the Lyne Burn, which falls into the Meldon Burn. Harehope is said in the charter to be in "the territory of Killebeccokestun," now Kilbucho. The pre-

[1] *Munimenta de Melros*, i. Carta 82.

fixes *car* and *har* are eminently suggestive. The name Carelgiburne has for its first part *Carelgi*, probably the original name of the upper fort. The form *elgi* is a puzzle. We have Elwy as the name of a river in Denbighshire. Whatever be the origin of *Carelgi*, it is clear that the term is preserved in *Crailzie* Hill and *Crailzie* Burn.

It is curious to find how those old forgotten charters contain names that connect themselves with the incidents and changes of far back Scottish story. The lands in the Harehope charter are given by Elena de Moreville for, as she tells us, the weal of "the souls of my father and my mother, and my brother William, and Roland my spouse, and for my salvation, and that of Alan, my son, and his heirs, and all our successors." This Alan, the son, married Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had three daughters. The eldest of these married John Baliol, whose son—great-grandson of Elena of Harehope—was for four years King of Scotland, as the creature of Edward. On the accession of Robert Bruce, the great estates of the descendants of the De Morevilles passed to other hands, and the name ceased to have a place in Scottish or English annals. The "*vetus castellarium*"[1] of Harehope still survives — considerably worn and defaced — and the sequestered and pastoral uplands, sweet in graceful grasses, and rich in wild flowers, purple and yellow, on a July day, are now very much as they were seven

[1] *Castellarium* is the same as *castellum*, diminutive of *castrum*. *Castra* and *castella* were applied to a fortified place, particularly on a height. This was at first an *oppidum*. The name was afterwards extended to ordinary towns, or a collection of dwellings. Cf. Du Cange, *sub vocibus*.

hundred years ago; but no one is now saying mass for the souls of those dear to the widowed lady Elena, and only the rare explorer of our oldest records knows enough to be ready to associate with a local habitation the name of the once powerful but vanished De Morevilles.

We have a few, yet very pertinent, indications of the existence of stone forts on the Border hills at the very dawn of charter evidence. Thus Anselm of Molle—now Mow, situated near the head of the Bowmont Water, up among the Cheviots—gives to the monks of Melrose, in the time of William the Lion, a part of this estate. The portion is bounded at one point "by certain great stones of the old building (*veteris edificii*), which is upon a small ridge (*cundos*) of the hill, which ridge is on the south part of the land that is called Cruche." The boundary-line descends by the same ridge to "one great stone, and thence to another."[1] This description corresponds exactly with the site of an old hill-fort.

With regard to the second class of remains—the simple Ringed Enclosures—these are generally to be found surrounding a bit of dry ground or plat in what is now, or once was, obviously a morass. They are also to be found at the lowest point of the hill-slopes. The ring surrounding them is a mound of earth seldom more than from 2 to 3 feet in height, but from 2 to 12 feet in breadth at the top. They appear, generally in twos, in low marshy land. Some good examples are still to be found at the head of the valley of the Broughton Burn.[2]

[1] *Munimenta de Melros*, i. Carta 127. Partly quoted by Innes, *Sketches*, 105.

[2] See Dr Christison, *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, 1886-87.

Those forms have proved a puzzle to the observer and delineator. They show no space for entrance, and they have no trench around them. They are marked generally on the Ordnance map as "old sheepfolds," but they could have had nothing to do with sheep or cattle as they stand. They could, as we see them, keep in nothing. What then were they, and what was their use? Possibly they are the foundations of old dwellings in the morasses of the country. On these foundations would be raised wooden walls, perhaps palisades, which, of course, have wholly disappeared. The breadth of the summit of the mound compared with its height suggests space for a broad foundation. The entrance would be through the superstructure, not the foundation. The mound of two or three feet all round and unbroken was, of course, needed to keep out the rising waters of the morass after rain or the melting of the winter snow. The entrance would be through the higher part of the enclosure, just as we find now in certain old peel-towers that there was no door on the ground-floor, except to the lower vaulted chamber, and the only entrance to the tower proper was by a movable stair or ladder that mounted to the first floor of the tower. Probably the hint was got from the arrangement in those old morass dwellings.

It may be observed in support of this view that there are strongly fortified dwellings in Peeblesshire, which show no signs of a trench. On the hill above the shepherd's house of Laverlaw, at about 700 or 800 feet, is a fine specimen of this kind. It is hollowed out of the slope of the hill in two divisions, separated by a mound or

baulk. It has had a strong stone dyke round it of dry mason-work, and it has circular foundations within it, showing it to have been an ample place of dwelling. It is wholly commanded from the hill above, yet it is surrounded on the east and north by a deep dry ravine, which, if palisaded, would make a formidable protection. Its area is 112 paces from east to west, the dividing baulk is 55 paces from north to south. The entrance is towards the east and high baulk. It is right in view of the fort on Cardrona Hill, which it greatly resembles.

There is one other possible explanation of those self-contained ring enclosures. When the red-deer abounded, as they did through the middle ages on the hills of the Lowlands, those structures might have been made for purposes of deer-traps and slaughter after driving by horn and hound. Driving by dogs and men was of course almost the only way of deer capture in those mediæval times; and these circles could be quite well adapted to that purpose, if only they were stobbed all round to a sufficient height. The fence would of course be set in the mound. No opening would be needed in the foundation—only in the wooden wall raised on it; and the deer would be driven within and captured. In either case, whether the structure was intended for a dwelling or for a deer-trap, there would be no need for a trench. The morass around was a sufficient protection for the dwelling, and the deer were to be invited within, not repelled, as they would have been by a ditch. What gives some probability to this supposition is that the verb *hayer*, from *haga*, a hedge, has the sense of hedging a wood or forest for the enclosure

and capture of wild animals.[1] *Hag*, as applied to a peat-bog, is perhaps sufficiently explained by the similarity of the appearance to hacking or cutting, but it is possible from the situation of those *hagas* in morasses that the name was transferred to the ground on which they were erected.

Then there is another class of remains on the Borders, though somewhat unequally distributed. This is the *mot*, *mote*, or *moat*, not to be confounded with the *moot*, or *moot-hill*. The moot-hill we all know as a place of assembly for judicial and other purposes. At Hawick and down beyond the Border at Elsdon, we have excellent specimens. These are doubtless to be referred to the Angle, or Anglo-Saxon time. But *moot* is not *mote*. The former signifies "a meeting of people": the latter *mot* means only dust in Anglo-Saxon, and in Icelandic is *moda*, meaning the same; but the French *motte* and the Italian *motta* indicate a clod of earth. From this the way may not be far to "detached eminence, natural or artificial"—and hence to such as a castle or mound of defence.[2]

The peculiarity of the mote as compared with the ordinary ring-fort was its central mound, "a truncated cone of earth, surrounded at the foot by a trench, with a mound outside the trench; and commonly with a base court at a lower level, similarly fortified. Palisades served the purpose of ramparts."[3]

In the *Registrum Magni Sigilli* references occur to

[1] Du Cange, *Glossarium*, sub voce *Haga*.

[2] See *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries*. Dr David Christison on *Forts, Camps, and Motes of Dumfriesshire*—March 9, 1891.

[3] *Ibid.*

the motes of the country, from 1430 onwards. These are situated in Mid-Lothian, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Lanark, Ayr, Kirkcudbright—also in Fife, Perth, and Aberdeen. They are scanty north of the Forth, and in the eastern or Angle counties south of it. They increase rapidly towards Galloway.[1] These references often bear on the grant of a licence for the erection of a mediæval castle on the site of the Mote—a tribute to the excellence of the choice of those sites, and an acknowledgment that the motes themselves were no longer of use for purposes of residence or defence. This remark applies especially to the motes of Locherwart, Tibberis, Errol, and others.[2] In 1430 the king grants to William de Borthwic a special licence for the construction of a castle "in that place which is commonly called 'le Mote de Lochorwart.'"[3] In 1489 the king grants to Robert Mateland of Auchincassil "the place of the castle (*castri*) and hill called 'le Mote de Tibbris,'" in Dumfriesshire. In 1490-91 we have a reference to "le Knoll sive le Mote" commonly called Lowsilaw, in Roxburghshire.[4] Gilnockie Tower had obviously been set on or near the site of a mote.[5] Many parish churches too were erected near the old motes.[6]

Several plausible reasons are given for holding the motes to belong to the centuries immediately preceding the Norman Conquest. They were, it is said, "the fortresses of Saxon England for some centuries before the Norman Conquest, and of France about the same period;

[1] Dr David Christison, *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, 1890-91.
[2] *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, March 9, 1891.
[3] *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 157.
[4] *Ibid.*, 2012.
[5] See *Ordnance Map*
[6] *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, 216.

and they do not seem to have passed entirely out of use, in France and Italy at least, with the introduction of the powerful baronial castles of stone and lime."[1] These were no doubt much more complex structures than anything we seem to have had in Scotland. It is supposed that we may fairly assign the motes to the period of the Saxon or rather Angle occupancy of the Lowlands of Scotland.

But it seems to me that the distinction between the fort proper and the mote is a somewhat precarious one, and hardly borne out by the facts. We have now, it is confessed, no remains whatever of the Saxon moat proper. This was a very complex structure, and quite unlike mere earthen works, though founded on them. The feature of difference between the two classes of works may be set down in this, that in the fort the highest area is generally hollow, and is below the line of the inmost defensive agger; while in the mote the summit of the area is above the inmost line of defence, and thus overlooks the defensive works. But this is not a satisfactory ground of difference. There are certain works, and some of these of a very remarkable and elaborate kind, which unite both features of hollow area and overlooking central mound. Advantage in those cases has been taken of the nature of the ground, where an existing eminence has been utilised in connection with other means of defence. The best examples known to me of this combination of distinctly hollowed area and transcending natural mound are those of the Moats of Liddel and Arthuret. There is also a very fine

[1] *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, 209.

example, unmarked in the Ordnance map and apparently unknown, on the summit of Corse Head, close to the March Syke, a small tributary of the Rankle Burn.

The local application of the word *mote* to those remains proves nothing as to their origin. An Angle race coming after the original creators of those works, would readily in their ignorance use the term with which they were most familiar. Thus mote might easily come to designate what was much older than anything the race using it actually constructed.

The Mote of Liddel is one of the finest of those old remains. It goes far back in fact and name. It was in existence in the twelfth century. On a map of 1690 it appears as "Ye Mote." What Norham Castle in mediæval times was to other castles of the period, the Mote of Liddel was to the other prehistoric forts. It stands on a precipitous bank of the Liddel Water, almost fronting its junction with the Esk, which from its highest point to the river runs down at least 160 feet. It is within the boundary of Cumberland, and in the ancient barony of Liddel, which belonged of old in succession to the families of De Meschines, De Russedale or Rossedale, De Stuteville, De Wake—that is, de la Wac or Vacca—and was afterwards for long part of the Duchy of Lancaster. Its diameter from south to north is approximately 282 feet; that from east to west is considerably more, about 305 feet. It is singularly impressive from the height of its great central mound and its depth of ditches, especially the two inner fosses. The slope of the central cone or mound, from its highest point on the south side to bottom of

inmost fosse, is 88 feet, and the width of this fosse is 60 feet. The platform on the top of the central mound is 35 feet in diameter. This mote is referred to as "the Foss of Liddal" in a charter to Jedburgh, given by Guido de Rossedale or Rossendale, confirmed in 1165. Mr Morton tells us it is now called the *Railzie*.[1] This comes very near *Crailzie*, the modern form of *Carelgi* on Harehope, and still nearer *rail* in *Catrail*.

On the south side of the Tweed, opposite Makerston, is a work obviously of the nature of a mote. Its position, like the mote of Liddel, is on a high cliff overhanging the river, and it bears the name of Ringley Hall. It consists of three circular terraces or levels raised one above another, gradually narrowing towards the summit, each surrounded by a wall or mound. The lowest of these walls is of dry-stone masonry. The diameter of the level circular top is about 180 feet. The perpendicular height from base to crown is 34 feet. This mote was still nearly perfect in last century, 1776.[2]

The Corse Head (1319 feet) is a hill at the top of the March Syke, which separates it from Cacra Hill. The situation of the fort is most commanding, looking down on the Rankle Burn on the left or west, on Clear Burn Loch and the wide-spreading moors and hills on the south, towards the head of Deloraine Burn on the east, and the pass of the Stanhope Burn on the north-west. The summit of the hill is fortified by ditches and terraces on the north and south, but rises above them all, moat-like. The total length occupied by the works

[1] *Monastic Annals*, 51.
[2] Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, iii. 162.

from north to south is 711 feet. They consist on the north side of a ditch, a first agger, a second and third agger, with sloping platforms intervening and rising to the summit of the hill; on the south there are lines and platforms corresponding to the second and third aggers, but no outer agger or ditch. This rather suggests that the ditch on the north, running across the ridge close by and past the works, is the line of the Catrail, of which we have remains in the valley of Ettrick below, north-east of Stanhope Foot, and to the south on the Home Law and by Clear Burn Loch. This fort is directly in what was the probable course of the old ditch.

Then we find now and again under ground a rude slab-formed grave or cist, in which the body has evidently been set in a half-upright sitting posture, the weak mouldering remains seeming in painful contrast to the once stalwart frame of the hunter on the hills. I remember as a boy seeing one opened on the hill-slope of Edderston. It was a short cist. The poor bones, when exposed, soon mouldered weakly away. It was to me an early and sobering lesson of man's mortality. This kind of grave was easily made of flat or slaty stones gathered from the hillside. The discovery of such burial-places has been of quite common occurrence; but unfortunately they have been seldom carefully or skilfully examined. On Mount Hill, Kirkurd, about the year 1754, "a stone chest enclosing a large clay urn containing human bones was found. And more recently there was found at the bottom of the same hill a stone coffin, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, which contained human bones, among which were discovered three

flint stones."[1] This obviously is an example of contracted burial,—characteristic of the barrows over Britain. There seem to be cases of simple cist burial under ground, but cairn burial was also common. We have a ready illustration of this form at Kingside, in the parish of Eddleston. Here in 1828, in the centre of a tumulus enclosed by three circular walls, a rude stone coffin was found, containing the ashes of human bones that had been imperfectly burned. "Several broken weapons resembling hatchets were also discovered."[2] On the west side of the Manor Water, near Langhaugh, where a large cairn was removed some eighty years ago, human remains were found. The great size of this cairn indicated a person or family of distinction. A cairn with the significant name of Hertan Hill stood on the haugh of Dryhope in Yarrow. When the stones were removed about 1803 some urns were found, besides a coffin formed of slate, and containing ashes.[3] Similar discoveries have been made at Castlelaw, above Linton, and at Rachan near the junction of the Biggar Water and the Tweed. These were instances apparently where the body had been laid in a stone coffin on the surface of the ground, and the stones afterwards piled up over it. But at Hawick, where a cairn was removed before 1833, the rude coffin was found 6 or 8 feet under ground.[4] Thus both surface and underground burial was practised in connection with the cairn; and we have evidence of both ordinary interment and cremation.[5]

In cairns in the parish of Tynron, Dumfriesshire—

[1] *New Stat. Ac.*, Kirkurd, 129.
[2] *Ibid.*, Eddleston, 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, Yarrow, 47.
[4] *New Stat. Ac.*, 395.
[5] For further particulars, see Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, i. 179.

part of Strathclyde—stone coffins containing fragments of bones and stone hammers have been found, — thus rather pointing to the early stone age.[1]

The earthen mound or *tumulus*, as a sepulchral monument, is not so common in the Lowlands of Scotland as the *cairn*, or heap of stones unmixed with earth. In Cymric the term for it is *carn*, or *carne*, and *carnedd*—hence our *cairn*. In Anglo-Saxon it is *low* (*hloew*) and *barrow* (*beorh*, *bearw*). The long-shaped barrow, of which we have very few examples in the Borders, is supposed to be the oldest,—to belong to the stone age, and to be the work of a race akin to the Basque or Iberian, which had spread over the whole of Britain prior to the Celtic. These barrows are marked by the absence of articles of bronze. The skulls found in them are long-shaped. The round barrow, in which the skulls are broad-shaped or oval, is regarded as belonging to the Celtic people. Here we find bronze implements. In Tweeddale the remaining sepulchral monuments of the barrow type seem to be chiefly, if not altogether, of the Celtic class. But near the circle of stones known as the Nine-stane Rig in Liddesdale is a large barrow of the oblong type, above 258 feet in length.[2] There seems to have been as much difficulty in the Cymric time in determining about those graves as now:—

> "The long graves in Gwanas,
> Their history is not heard,
> Whose they are and what their deeds."[3]

[1] *New Stat. Ac.*, Dumfriesshire, Tynron, 475.

[2] See Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, 179, for several references to conical and oblong tumuli in this shire.

[3] *Verses of the Graves.*

On hillsides and on moors, in fields even open to the plough, and in high unfrequented spots, as on Dollar Law, we have the standing-stones or "stanin'-stanes" —sometimes single, sometimes two together, with perhaps a third that has fallen by their side. These are unquestionably of great antiquity, as they are often referred to in the earliest charters as objects already generally known, and hence utilised in them as boundary marks. "One of the boundaries described in the royal charter fixing the marches between the Constable and Melrose in the forest of Wedale is 'de pot usque ad standande stan.'"[1]

Of these standing-stones some were doubtless even originally set up as boundary stones, called *har* or *her*, as in the south of England. We have *Harstane* not unfrequently as the name of a place—twice at least in Peeblesshire. In Harstane or Herstan in Tweedsmuir we have the *stane* by the burn, and near Mount Teviot we have the remains of an old stone circle called *Harestanes*. *Harehope*, *Harcars*, time of David II., probably now *Harcus*, *Haerfauldriggs*, time of James VI., in Peeblesshire, *Hertan* in Selkirkshire, *Harden* and *Harwood* in Roxburghshire, *Harelaw* and *Harefaulds* in Berwickshire, may owe their origin to the same root, if we discount, as we well may, the name of the animal.

In Maxton, on occasion of a grant of lands by Robert de Berkeley, the monks set up a great stone as one of their boundaries, "magnam petram in testimonium erexerunt."[2]

[1] C. Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, 106.
[2] *Ibid.*, 106. See others there.

Others of those stones may mark a battle or a grave. When two or three are found together they are probably the remains of what is known in Celtic as *cromlech* or burying-place. The cromlech was a chamber of rough unhewn stones, formed generally of three upright and one laid flat on the top, resembling the covering of a table, hence called *dolmen* in Bretagne. There is evidence, as in the south of England, that these chambers sometimes formed the centre of a mound or barrow, composed of earth when there was sufficient soil at hand to be got, or of earth and stones, or of small stones merely. The soil which formed the covering mound being removed, the rude slab-formed chamber is, in most cases, all that is left. In Bretagne, however, if we take the *dolmens* as burial chambers, there does not seem any evidence of their having been covered by mounds or cairns. And this may have been the case in the Lowlands of Scotland, where the ancient Cymri were closely akin to the Britons of the north of France.

Several of the standing-stones of the Borders have the somewhat mysterious appearances known as cup-markings. Probably there are certain of those markings which have been done by the hand of man; but in the area that has come more immediately under my own observation, very serious doubts have occurred to me as to the genuineness of the artificial character of the cup-hollows. Thus a remarkable standing-stone is to be found in the dyke or dry-stone wall on the west side of the Manor road, on the farm of Bellanrig or Bellanridge. It is said not to be *in situ*, but to have been removed from another spot and set up in this wall. It is of native grit,

and is roughly triangular. Its greatest height is 5 feet 7 inches above ground, and its width 5 feet 9 inches. In thickness it is 22 inches. The peculiarity of this stone is the appearance of cup-markings which it presents, there being on the east side no fewer than fourteen of those well-marked forms. They are mostly in groups of three, and vary in diameter from 1 to 4½ inches. These forms have been regarded as genuine cup-markings. It seems to me that those cup-like hollows are natural, not artificial. In the bed of nearly all of them is observable a kind of shale or flint-like substance, different altogether from the material of the stone, and suggesting the matrix of a fossil or other deposit. Had the hollows been made in the stone by art, there would have been no such appearance. An explanation quite consistent with the natural character of the hollows is to be found in the supposition that "the sand of which the stone had been formed had been laid down on a beach or sea-bottom, on which were water-worn pieces of mud-stone or shale of a flattened rounded form. When this came to the surface as solid rock, the mud-stone weathered out, and left a flattened cup-like depression."[1] I may add that I have observed a stone with precisely similar markings, which had been exposed in the till by rain and flood, in the scaur of the Stake Law Burn, in Glensax, thus wholly precluding the supposition that the cup-like hollows were due to anything but natural causes. Stones of this kind —some standing, others lying flat, and some simply rocks *in situ*—are quite common in Peeblesshire, as on Cade-

[1] From report of excursion to Manor in the *Scottish Border Record*, July 27, 1889.

muir, at Tinnis, Lour, by the Tweed opposite Neidpath, and other places; but it would be somewhat rash to assume that the markings are by the hand of man.[1]

Up till very recently the peculiar structure known as *the Broch* was hardly known to exist in Scotland, unless to the north of the Caledonian valley, and in the northern and western isles. In those areas the number of brochs was estimated at 370. But south of the Caledonian valley, only three structures of this kind were supposed to exist,—one of these on Cockburn Law in Berwickshire. Since then the camp or fort at Torwoodlee, in Selkirkshire, has been found to consist partly of a broch, and thus a connection has been established between the civilisation of the north and south of Scotland, for there can be no doubt that the occupants of these brochs were workers in bronze and iron. They used bone, horn, and stone, made pottery, had even Samian ware. The women spun and weaved, and the people lived on beef, venison, pork, veal, mutton, lamb, and fish.

The broch has been defined "as a hollow circular tower of dry-built masonry, from 40 to 70 feet in total diameter, having within the thickness of its walls a series of chambers and galleries, lighted by windows, all looking into the central area. The only aperture to the outside is a doorway through a tunnel-like square-headed passage, with slightly inclined sides, 5 to 6 feet high, and about 3 feet wide, constructed in the thickness of the wall. The latter, which is from 9 to 20 feet thick, is solid for

[1] On the natural origin of some of those markings, see a Paper by Professor Duns, *Proceed. Soc. Ant.*, xx. 126: 1886.

about 10 feet from the ground, except where it is pierced by the entrance or partially hollowed out for chambers."[1]

The Torwoodlee Broch is situated within the line of a British fort, of more than average dimensions, on the Crosslee Hill, called also Harrigait Head, at an elevation of 900 feet above sea-level. The diameter of the fort within the walls from west to east is given as 350 feet, and from north to south, when perfect, as 412 feet. It has portions of mounds or walls on the west nearly 25 feet in thickness, and a ditch on each side of 24 feet in width. Excavation in May 1891 revealed for the first time, within the area of this fort, the foundations of what appears to be a true broch, of the type north of the Caledonian Canal. The wall, about 3 feet in height, is 17 feet 6 inches in thickness, and it encloses an open central area, of which the diameter is 38 feet. The wall of the broch on Cockburn Law in Berwickshire varies from 15 to 20 feet, and the largest diameter of both walls and open space is 92½ feet. The diameter of the Torwoodlee Broch through walls and central space is 75 feet. The entrance, of the usual characteristic kind, is well marked, and there are traces of stairs leading to upper chambers in the walls. Charcoal and fragments of pottery, glass, stone, and bronze implements, have been found on digging the floor. The special interest of this broch arises from the fact that it is within a fort on the line of the Catrail, at indeed a point where this line is usually supposed to terminate.[2]

[1] Mr Dalrymple Duncan in *Trans. Glasgow Archæological Society*, No. xxv., 1886. See Mr J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*, 174 *et seq.* 1883.

[2] These particulars are given partly from communications to the *Scotsman*, May 14 and June 13, 1891, of the work of the Galashiels Ramblers' Club; and partly from personal examination of the fort, before and since the discovery of the broch.

The question suggests itself as to whether any more of those structures, so rare south of the Caledonian Canal, are to be found in the line of the Catrail, or whether this is an exceptional case, leading rather to the supposition of a northern or foreign tribe having made, for a time at least, a successful capture of the Catrail boundary, and planted at its seeming termination, within the ordinary British fort, a work of defence greatly stronger than the usual ringed fort. If this be so, the popular designation of the *Picts Work Ditch* applied to the Catrail in Selkirkshire may not be wholly wrong.

It must, however, be kept in mind that as yet there has been no thorough, careful, and skilled examination, especially by excavation of the classes of remains here referred to in the valley of the Tweed and the Lowlands generally. In the absence of this we must hold any conclusion regarding them with reserve, and subject to modification.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS—NAMES OF PLACES AND NATURAL OBJECTS.

ANOTHER important and perhaps more definite source of information and inference regarding the original inhabitants of the Lowlands is to be found in the language of the district. Here we must look both at the vernacular spoken and written, and particularly at the names of places and natural features of the country. These latter are frequently the symbols of races of men, which witness for them when they are gone, and when there is neither memory nor trace of their homes or their graves.

Any one who scans the Ordnance map of the valley of the Tweed and the Lowlands generally will readily be impressed with the fact that the great proportion of names there is Teutonic. The dwelling-places of men, the most of the smaller streams or burns, the shaws, the muirs, and the lower hills, bear Teutonic appellations.[1] It is, however, by no means an easy matter to assign to each of the different branches of the Teutonic language its share of those names, whether we look to the chief or

[1] Cf. Murray's *Dialect of the South of Scotland*, 16.

to the subordinate ramifications of the language represented by that name. And here it should be explained that certain terms connected with this point,—especially Saxon and Anglo-Saxon,—are somewhat vague, and open to misconception. When I use Anglo-Saxon as applied to a portion of the Teutonic speech and people, I intend it to apply to the three tribes, Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, who were allied in race, and who used a common language, with, of course, dialectical differences. These tribes certainly came to be supreme over a large portion of the early Celtic area of Britain, and they imposed their language on the sphere of their influence. The Romans and Celts applied the term *Saxon* to those three tribes individually and collectively, while the invaders apparently called themselves Angles. No Angle, however, according to Mr Freeman, seems ever to have named himself *Saxon*. The use of the term *Saxon*, even as applied to the whole three tribes, or to each, is thus historically justifiable; but it would not be expedient. The phrase *Anglo-Saxon* as applied to the whole three tribes dates from about the tenth century, and is equivalent to the *Angli-Saxones* or *Angul-Seaxe* of that period. The portions of Britain usually regarded as colonised more especially by the Angles are—(1) East Anglia, to the north of the East Saxons, or Essex. (2) Northumbria, including Bernicia and Deira. These embraced the district on the east coast of the island, extending from the Humber to the Forth: Deira stretched from the Humber to the Tees, Bernicia from the Tees to the Forth. (3) Mercia, which embraced nearly all central England westwards to the borders of Wales. The Angle

form of the Anglo-Saxon speech is thus that which locally most nearly touched the territory of the Britons on the west in the sixth century and onwards, and latterly the kingdom of Strathclyde or Cumbria. While dealing with those early appellations, it should be noted that the Teutonic invaders named the Celts of Britain who had been under Roman influence *Welsh*, or strangers —*Bretwealas*—just as they named their kindred in similar circumstances *Galwealas*. They do not seem to have applied the term *Welsh* to either Pict or Scot.[1]

The received view is that by far the greater part of the names in the Lowlands of Scotland, especially in the counties forming the old kingdom of Strathclyde, is Anglo-Saxon; that they thus belong to that branch of the Low German which springs directly from the Gothic, and, along with Anglo-Saxon itself, includes the Frisian and the Dutch. This whole branch is known as *Platt Deutsch*, or Low Dutch, and was the language commonly spoken, with certain dialectical varieties, by the tribes that dwelt between the borders of Germany and Scandinavia, embracing the lands or provinces between the mouth of the Weser on the south and that of the Elbe on the north. Anglo-Saxon besides includes, of course, the language of the Angles or emigrants from Angeln, and the speech of the Jutes, who came from a more northern part of the peninsula. There may be a question here as to how much of the Teutonic speech of the Lowlands of Scotland is due to Angle proper or to Saxon proper. But meanwhile I wish merely to say that I believe the view of the Low German origin of the present language of the

[1] Cf. Freeman, *Ency. Brit.*, *England*.

Lowlands to be in the main the true one. At the same time, I am inclined to think that there is a larger proportion of local words attributable to the Norse or Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic language than is commonly supposed. We know, as a matter of history, that Northumbria became for a considerable period Danish. As early as 789, we have a record of the Danes making an inroad on Northumberland. During the period between 874 and 888, Northumberland, which then stretched from the Humber to the Forth, came entirely under Danish power. Part of it was divided among Danish owners, places consequently received Danish names, and the Danish speech was thus introduced. Under Aethelstan (925), it was brought within the realm of England, and finally incorporated with it under Eadred (952). But after the Scottish victory at Carham in 1018, the part of Northumberland beyond the Tweed — known as Lothian—was secured by the Scottish king, Malcolm II., and thereafter remained permanently connected with Scotland. It is thus likely that we should find within that area at least Danish as well as the original Angle words. And we know that the language of Lothian was that form of the northern Teutonic which spread over the adjacent districts, and finally over the whole of Scotland. This fusion of Danish with the Angle probably helped in the process, almost certain to take place from other causes, of the loss of the inflections of the original speech.

There is another circumstance to be taken into account. The exigencies of the position of William the Conqueror, or rather Conquestor, as is written on his desecrated tomb in the *Abbaye aux Hommes* in Caen—that is,

the acquirer, not the heir of lands—led to the exile of many of the original landowners, and was the cause of the Saxon emigration to the country north of the Humber, as yet unsubdued by him, and to Scotland. The Conquest, as it is called, really took seven years to complete. The Saxons who resisted him were of course treated as rebels, their lands forfeited, their names even extinguished. Doomesday Book (1086) is the record of this confiscation, and also of the re-grant of the lands to his followers and coadjutors in the taking of England. In twenty-one years the great Saxon landowners had almost entirely disappeared from the south and centre of England. What had been the *folkland* of the Anglo-Saxon community became the land of the king (*terra regis*). The king assumed the personal lordship of the whole land of the kingdom, and a valid title was only to be got from him through direct grant or indirect recognition. The original nobles, thanes, and proprietors of Saxon lineage were thus dispossessed and driven into exile, either to the north or across the Channel, where they took service in foreign warfare. Among the earliest persons of importance who fled northwards were Edgar the Aetheling, the Saxon heir to the throne of England, and his sisters Margaret and Christina. In Margaret, who became the wife of Malcolm Canmore, her exiled countrymen found a sympathetic friend; and from this time (1068) onwards through William's reign and that of his coarse and tyrannical son, the Red King, there was a constant stream of Saxon emigration of people of the better class northwards. This appears to have continued even down to the time of David I., when to the

Saxon current was added a flow of French and Normans. It is thus we find that when the early charters of David I., his brothers, and the Alexanders throw a clear light on Scottish history, the Celtic names are gradually disappearing from places of importance in the Lowlands of Scotland, and Saxon and even Norman names appear in their room. This movement led to the introduction into the Lowlands of words of the Saxon branch of the Teutonic, and the whole language ultimately formed and spoken in the south and eastern Lowlands came to be a fusion of Angle, Danish, and Saxon.

"Extremely few places," says Worsaæ, "with Scandinavian names are to be found in the Scottish Lowlands, and even these are confined almost without exception to the counties nearest the Border. Dumfriesshire, lying directly north of Cumberland and the Solway, forms the central point of such places."[1] This statement requires considerable modification; but even if it were true, it would yet hardly affect the point at issue. The names of dwelling-places of men are, for very obvious reasons, the most changeable of all. In order fully to ascertain the proportion of the designations assignable to different languages or branches of the same language in a country, we must look rather to the names of natural objects and natural features, as hill, stream, and plain, than to the abodes of men. These may be named at the caprice of shifting occupants. Being constantly in the mouths of people, they are modified or murdered through ignorance, or an instinct to assimilate them to words with which the speakers are already familiar. Yet I cheerfully admit

[1] *The Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 217.

that I have known numerous cases in which the people in secluded districts have preserved the original and true pronunciation of an ancient name; and this has enabled me to trace it to its origin, when otherwise the clue to its etymology would have been irrecoverably lost. I always seek to know how the people dwelling near it pronounce the name of a place.

In dealing with this question we must take the generic part of the name, or that which indicates the feature common to the class of things to which the object named belongs. For every local name has really two parts or aspects—the part denoting what it has in common with others of its kind, and the part fixing, as it were, this common feature in the individual instance or case. Thus, *Drumalban* is the ridge of Alban, as *Drummelzier* is the ridge of Melzier or Meldred. *Drum* is of course the generic part of the word. And here it may be said that philology and psychology alike demonstrate that every generic name indicates a feature, usually a striking or characteristic feature, of the object, which is elevated to the rank of a generic idea. The varying idiosyncrasy or genius of a people is shown in the kind of feature which strikes it, which it selects, and which it names. Leibnitz, rich in all the regions of thought, was the first explicitly to point out this, the true genesis of local names.[1] It affords the key to topographical nomenclature, and it is

[1] See Leibnitz, *Nouveaux Essais*, l. iii. c. i. s. 3; c. ii., iii. Compare with these the rare work of Leibnitz, entitled *Collectanea Etymologica*, published posthumously by Eccard in 1717. Taking the views of Leibnitz as given in the *Nouveaux Essais* and in those collections, it is not too much to say that he laid down for the first time the principles of comparative philology.

not less applicable in explanation of the general ideas or notions of our intelligence. It has been adopted and applied since the time of Leibnitz by Mr Max Müller; though the theory of the latter, that the abstract idea of the root was first and independently named, is as untenable as his further doctrine, that this abstract quality is identical with the general idea which it grounds. The abstract quality indicated by the root is not a general idea; it is simply the attribute which by generalisation is transformed into the common characteristic of the class; and the general idea can as little be named by itself as it can be thought by itself. The general and the individual instance or application of it are named together, as they are thought together in one indissoluble unity of conception.

The difficulty we meet with in dividing the Teutonic names between the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian—embracing old Norse, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Danish—is, that there are usually similar forms in both branches of the language. In many cases the Scandinavian root would yield the etymology as readily as the Anglo-Saxon. We know that some of the names were given by the Anglo-Saxons in the historical period; and no doubt the presumption from history is, that where a word is found in its root-form, both in Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon, it was first applied by the latter people, as the earlier and more numerous immigrants into Britain. This is a liberal concession to the Anglo-Saxon element. But we shall find that there are a good many names in the valley of the Tweed and its tributaries which have no corresponding Anglo-Saxon root, but are of purely

Scandinavian origin. These we must attribute to settlers belonging to the northern Teutonic people. At what precise period these names were conferred—whether in the eighth and ninth centuries, or as late even as the eleventh—it is somewhat difficult to determine. Not unlikely the first period is the correct one, at least for the names of places. The Norsemen were very busy on all the northern seas, and up nearly all the rivers on the east coast of Scotland, during that dark period of Scottish history which extends from the eighth to the eleventh century. We are told that out of seven monarchs who reigned over the Scots from 863 to 961, three fell fighting against "the Danes," [1] the name of terror on nearly every coast of Britain during those centuries. The invaders were, however, not as a rule successful on the east coast of Scotland. They established no kingdom in the Lowlands, although they certainly at a very early period got a permanent footing in Cumberland, and that even before a Danish dynasty secured for a time the throne of England. It was then, probably, they impressed their names on the places and hills along the watershed to the south of the valley of the Tweed. The Norseman owed his success in Britain partly to his own uncorrupted character and untouched individuality, and partly to the degeneracy, which by this time had come over the originally bold and venturesome, but too long successful, Anglo-Saxon people.

Looking first at the names of dwelling-places, we have very commonly in the Tweed and adjoining valleys—indeed all over the Lowlands—the generic affix *ton, tun,*

[1] Worsaæ, *The Danes in England*, 280.

toun, or *town*. Not only is a congeries of dwellings a town, but every farmstead is so called. It thus indicated originally both a family and a tribal settlement; and nine-tenths of the *tuns* are to be traced back to Teutonic settlers. There is no mistaking the origin and significance of *Kidston* (*Kydeston*),[1] *Eddleston* (*Edulfistun*),[2] *Milkiston* (*Molkistun*), *Wormiston*, *Winkston* (*Wynkistun*),[3] *Edston*, *Edderston* (*Edrickestun*), *Bonnington*, *Crookston* (*Crukestun*),[4] *Thankerton* (*Tankardtun*), *Covington* (*Colbaynnston*),[5] *Syminton*, *Lamington* (*Lambinistun*), *Roberton*, and many others of the same type. They were, in fact, the family possessions of those early clearers of the land, and show the original numerous subdivisions of property. The term still remains as applied more than a thousand years ago. *Tun* means originally *hedge* or *fence;* hence *fenced place* or *enclosure*, and thus *yard, farm, dwelling;* and *Town* is described as "a territory lying within the bounds of a tun."[6] The term is, of course, unquestionably Anglo-Saxon; and it belongs, further, especially to the Angle branch of that speech. *Toun* is perhaps the word in most common use in the Lowlands of Scotland. It points unmistakably to the Angle element in the population, and to its connection with ancient Northumbria. As a place-name it is abundant in the plain of Cumberland and by the Roman Roads,[7] thus along certain comparatively easy lines of march, showing how the Angles came to occupy this district, and finally to pierce beyond the Cheviots.

[1] In 1259.
[2] *Temp.* Alexander III.
[3] In 1262.
[4] In 1259-1262.
[5] *Circa* 1262.
[6] Bosworth, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, sub voce.
[7] Cf. Ferguson, *Cumberland*, 149, 150.

Along with *tun* we have the kindred *ham, hame, am,* having the etymological significance of *cover* or *covering;* hence, a *house* or *home,* and then a *village, farm,* or *town.* The Low Dutch form is *ham,* Mœso-Gothic *haim,* and the German *heim.* It is not so common in the south of Scotland as *tun,* though it occurs in some instances in Roxburgh, Berwick, and Haddington. Thus *Ednam* is *Edinham,*[1] *Oxnam* is *Oxenham, Middlem* is *Middleham.* And we have *Birgham, Kimmerghame, Ederham, Coldingham, Oldhamstocks, Whittinghame,* and *Tyninghame.* These *hames* are, as a rule, in the area covered by the ancient Northumbria, and they are mainly on the eastern side of it. This is hardly consistent with the supposition of certain writers that *ham* or *hame* is peculiarly Saxon as distinguished from Angle. And if we look over the map of Northumberland we find now this class of names continued in precisely the same line—that is, on the eastern side—through what formed the southern portion of this old province; for we have here *Norham, Chillingham, Alnham, Whittingham, Edlingham, Bolam, Ellingham, Stamfordham, Bellingham, Hexham,* and others, to say nothing of *Durham* and places farther south in the same province. The term is wanting in Cumberland. Professor Leo makes a distinction between *hăm,* what hems in, and *hām,* a home, to which the Anglo-Saxons attached a peculiar sanctity.

We have for a dwelling-place *wick* or *wyck.* The Anglo-Saxon form is *wik,* Frisian *wic,* commonly appearing as *wick* or *wyck.* The same root is also found in the Scandinavian—Danish, *vig;* Swedish, *wik*—and

[1] In 1253.

generally signifies a *haven, cove,* or *bay.* The well-known *viking* is the bayer, or one who takes shelter in the bay, or hides himself there, until he can pounce on the people of the land. The generic meaning of the root is no doubt dwelling or resting-place, and this may be, according to circumstances, a single dwelling-place or a village. *Wick* thus came to be applied to a house, castle, camp or station, a monastery, or a place of security for boats, as a bay or creek. *Wic* in Anglo-Saxon also signifies soft yielding soil, quagmire, morass (*wican, to yield, to give way*), translated *mariscus,* soft pasture-land, and in this meaning it appears in the names of places, as in Hlid-wic and Strad-wic.[1] Possibly some of the *wicks* of the Tweed were applied to spots with this feature in view. *Toun* or *tun,* however, occurs much more frequently than *wick.* This has a very subordinate application; yet we have several local names ending in *wick,* and these are traceable along the eastern coast of Northumbria, very commonly situated on waters or rivers, northwards to Berwick, and then up the Tweed and certain of its tributaries. Thus we have in Northumberland *Morwick* (on Cocquet), *Alnwick* (on Alne), *Denwick, Howick, Elwick, Lowick;* and at the mouth of the Tweed *Berwick* (*Beornicas-wick* or *Bernicians' dwelling*), *Hawick* on the Teviot, *Borthwick* on the Gala Water, and up the Tweed *Dawik, Dawick,* or *Dawyck. Wick* seems to me to point to the Danish element in the Northumbrian province, and to the time when the Danes made incursions on the east of the island, and finally brought Northumbria under their rule in the ninth century.

[1] Leo, *Anglo-Saxon Names,* 98.

Besides these appellations of dwelling-places, we have *stead*, from the Anglo-Saxon *stede*, and *stow*, each meaning a place, as in Kirkstead and in Stow. Ettrick Forest was subdivided under its warden or wardens and rangers (*cursores*) into *stedes*. *Stoke* is the form of Stow in the north of England, and seems to point to an enclosure made by piles driven into the ground. Then there is *hall*, which is not uncommon by the Tweed, but more frequent throughout England. Its root is *heal*, a stone, and it originally meant either an enclosure by stones, or a house built of stones, as opposed to one of turf or wood. We have Hallyards and Hallmanor. *Cote* means mud cottage. We have it in Cauldcote and Hoscoat. *Yard* itself means girded round, and is applied generally to a bit of ground belonging to a house, rather than the dwelling itself. *Bury*, *borough*, *burgh*, *brough*, means a walled or sheltered place. The Anglo-Saxon root is *beorgan*, to hide; German, *bergen*. *Bury* is the Anglo-Saxon form. *Burgh* and *brough* are Angle and Norse.[1] We have the former quite commonly along the Tweed, and we have *brough* in the vernacular pronunciation of Broughton. *Worth* or *worthe*, a village or town, is also found. Thus we have Gedworth in Roxburghshire, and Jedworthfield, now Jedderfield, in Peeblesshire. It is possible that the *Jed* or *Ged* in those cases is the remains of the old *Gad* of the Gadeni.

Other Anglo-Saxon words connected with human dwellings are *fold*—that is, an enclosure made by felled trees; *croft*, enclosed cropped land; *haigh* or *hay*, originally *haga*, a hedge, then a small estate or field, and an enclosure for the purposes of the chase surrounded by a

[1] Compare Taylor, *Words and Places*, 130.

hedge. *Park* is enclosed field, probably adopted by the Saxons from the Cymric *parwg*.[1] *Head*, from the Anglo-Saxon *heafod*, is one of the most common suffixes. *Haining* means land reserved, hence the Haining as a dwelling, in Selkirkshire. *Ridding* or *Riddings* is simply woodland cleared, and is thus equivalent to *field*, but the Riddings near the Mote of Liddel is probably a corruption of the *Erydon* of Bede.

"If," says Professor Leo, "we review the [Anglo-Saxon] words that bear reference to cultivation, we shall find this by far their most distinguishing characteristic, that every property was enclosed within certain boundaries. Not only are those the most frequent words in nomenclature which convey this idea of enclosure and circumvallation, and such a one is *tun*, but the greater proportion of the words themselves signify the same thing. Besides, *tún*, *ham*, *burh*, *hëarh*, *séta*, *wurth*, *haga*, *fyrhthe*, *snádas*, are of the same stamp. . . . An appreciation of the sacred nature of personal property betrays itself throughout Anglo-Saxon cultivation; the whole race is imbued with the notion of the security and the sanctity of private right, and this is only in analogy with what we trace in other German tribes."[2] Some writers think that the Anglo-Saxons in Britain inherited the notion and practice of enclosure from their predecessors the Celts, on the ground that Britain shows the habit of enclosure far more than the Saxon parts of the continent. The nomadic character attributed to the Celts is rather against this view, though no doubt they had been sub-

[1] Compare Taylor, *Words and Places*, 129; Leo, *Anglo-Saxon Names*, 62.
[2] Leo, *Anglo-Saxon Names*, 70, 71.

jected to the civilising influence of Rome before the Saxons came, which would naturally impose more stationary habits. The description by Cæsar of the Cymric *town* of Cassivellaunus does not lead to the idea that it was meant as a place of permanent residence. "The Britons," he tells us, "call by the name of a *town* a place in the fastnesses of the woods, surrounded by a mound and trench, whither they are accustomed to betake themselves as a retreat from hostile incursion." "Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ convenire consueverunt. Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum."[1] We know, however, from Ptolemy, that the original inhabitants of Britain, at the time of the Roman invasion, had several permanent towns or cities of very considerable size and importance.[2] The truth seems to be that each Anglo-Saxon naturally fenced for himself what he could rescue from the wild or forest, as a settlement and protection against the Cymri whom he had displaced. The Cymri had not, before the Saxon immigration, to contend with any foreign foe who sought to settle in the country. They were pastoral and nomadic, living without continual apprehensions of aggression from another race; their original notion of property was thus more that of the communal tribe than of the individual landholder. Community of property in the same township was a feature even of Angle tenure, to which the terms *mark* and *run-rig* (*rig* and *reann*) still bear witness.

For the names of streams we have *water*, *burn*, *syke*,

[1] *De Bell. Gall.*, v. 21.

[2] See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 70.

grain. The first two are doubtless Anglo-Saxon appellatives—*wæter* and *burne.* The very wide distribution of these terms in the Lowlands of Scotland shows the largeness of the Anglo-Saxon immigration. The pronunciation *wæter* is quite common in the dales of the Esk and the Liddel. But *syke* is not so clearly Anglo-Saxon; and *grain* is not Anglo-Saxon at all. *Syke* is applied to a small stream or rill oozing through ground which it overspreads and moistens. It may be either from the Anglo-Saxon *sich,* a furrow, water-course, or from the Icelandic *sijk.* Probably the latter is the direct origin. It should here be noted that Icelandic is the nearest representative of the old Norse, or the most ancient existing form of the Scandinavian class of languages. In the twelfth century the Norse resolved itself into two branches, the Swedish and Danish. The Norwegian and Danish are very similar, almost identical. In the fiords of Norway the spoken language is more akin to the Icelandic. Icelandic thus most closely represents the language of the old sea-kings.

Grain is applied in Tweeddale and in Liddesdale to the branches of a valley towards the head where it divides into several small glens, and hence to the branches of the stream, which usually flow through those hollows in the hills. It has no root in Anglo-Saxon, but is obviously derived from the ancient Icelandic *grein,* pl. *ir, ar,* a branch, as of a tree, hence also head. The verb is *greina,* to branch, divide into branches. This is one clear instance at least of a purely distinctive Scandinavian appellative; and it is of very common occurrence in the higher and wilder parts of the Tweeddale valleys,

where we have most of the Norse names. It is said by Cleasby, *sub voce,* not to occur in German, Saxon, or English. He was evidently not aware of its use in the Lowlands of Scotland. It is found as far west as Renfrewshire, where the *Lavernani* impressed it on the sources of the burns.

In connection with a stream we ought to add the term *ford,* which means a crossing, and also gives names to places near it, as Howford. *Ford* is both Anglo-Saxon and Norse—from *faran,* to go. In Anglo-Saxon it means a path across a river; in Norse, a path for ships up an arm of the sea. The Dano-Norwegian form for ford is *wath.* It is not found in the valley of the Tweed, but it turns up near it in Carnwath. An artificial mill-stream is a *lade,* Anglo-Saxon *lad.*

For steep breaks or descents in the sides of banks or hills, generally adjacent to streams and formed by water-courses, we have *heugh, cleuch,* and *scaur. Heugh* or *heuch* is probably from the Anglo-Saxon *how,* a hill, though this root also is Danish, or the old High German *houc,* a mound. *How* we use for a hollow; but this implies height as well. We have the *how* of the hill. In the Lake district, curiously enough, *how* means height, as Silver How, Torpenhow. This is probably from the Icelandic *haug,* a mound, or what is heaped up. *Cleuch* or *cleugh,* a rugged ascent, or a hollow descent on the hillside, is the Anglo-Saxon *claugh,* a cleft of a rock, or in the side of a hill.[1] *Cleughs* abound in Ettrick and Yarrow. *Scar* or *scaur* is defined "a bare place on the side of a steep hill, from which the sward has been washed

[1] See Jamieson and Bosworth, *sub voce.*

down by rains." This is probably the Scandinavian *skaer*, a rock; there being no Anglo-Saxon equivalent.

For a plain we have *holm*, *haugh*, *lee*. Of these, *lee* may be Anglo-Saxon, *leag*, *legh*, *ley*, a field. There is, however, an Icelandic root, *hle*, *hlie*, meaning shelter or security. And we still speak of the lee-side of the hill, meaning the side protected from the storm. *Holm* may be either Anglo-Saxon or old Norse. *Holm* signifies commonly a bit of level low ground on the banks of a river. Originally it meant an island in a river, bay, or loch, hence meadow near the sea or a river. The islets in the English Lakes, as in Windermere and Derwentwater, are still called *holms*. It is of frequent occurrence in proper names in Iceland. The application of *holm* to spots in the river valleys of the Lowlands of Scotland seems to point to a time when the rivers were streams passing through inland lakes, with green islets appearing in the midst of them. There is another word in use in Tweeddale which is somewhat similar to *holm*—viz., *whaum*. This is used to denote a small valley or hollow between hills, and as thus applied is pronounced *whaum*, and also *whum* or *whym*, as Cademuir Whaum, Hundleshope Whaum, Glenwhym, Glenquhome,[1] now Glenholm. This is a term borrowed directly from the Icelandic *hvammr*, and means a grassy slope or vale. Curiously enough, these localities I have now mentioned have near them other names of undoubted Scandinavian origin. *Haugh* is from Icelandic *hagi*, place for pasture. There is a Norse root, *haug*, *haugr*, a mound; but the former is the more likely origin of haugh on Tweedside, which means

[1] Bagimont's *Roll*.

a stretch of plain by a river. *Myre*, too, a bog or swamp, is purely Norse. The root is *myrr*, and it is quite common in Iceland. *Strother* or *struther* means a meadow or soft piece of land. The common occurrence of such terms as *fen, mere, myre, moss, struther, cors, flatt, stank*, indicates the original marshes and boggy state of the country. It should be remembered, however, that *mere* in some cases means boundary, as in Mereburn.

For names of hills we have very commonly *law, top, watch, edge, knowe, mount, kaim, bank, head, height, kipp, dod.* All these, with the doubtful exception of the two last, are clearly Anglo-Saxon. *Kipp* or *kip* is connected with *cap, caput, κεφαλή*. *Dod* is analogous to *dawd, lump*, and this is probably the old and almost obsolete Icelandic *toddi*, meaning a portion. It is a very common name for a rounded hill in the south and south-eastern Lowlands. It is also found in the Lake district. For a dip or hollow on the top of a hill, admitting a road or pathway, we have *sware* or *swire*—that is, the Anglo-Saxon *sweora*, col, or neck. There is also the Icelandic *sviri*, neck, and used as a local name in Brekka *Gils-fjördr* in Western Iceland.[1] *Swire* occurs in one of the sweetest lines of Gawain Douglas:—

"The soft sough of the swire and the soun of the streams."

On the Tweed we have Manor Sware or Swire; on the Yarrow, Duchar Swire. We have also the Reed Swire, near the head of Reedsdale, memorable for its bloody conflict in 1575, more than five hundred years after the Angles had left the name high up on the watershed of

[1] See Cleasby, *sub voce.*

the Cheviots. Another name for dip or depression between two hills is *hass* or *hause*, Norwegian and Anglo-Saxon *hâls*, neck. Thus we have Simon's Hause and Katie's Hause in Peeblesshire, to say nothing of Buttermere Hause, in the Lake district. To these should be added the Icelandic *seat* or *sate*. We have it in the Fa' Sate, between the Douglas and Glenrath Burns, as we have it in Seat-Sandal in the Lake district. We have also *stake* as the name of a hill—Icelandic *stiaki*, Anglo-Saxon *staca*, a stake. There is the Stake Law in Glensax. Of the thirty-five Gaelic names for an eminence given by Robertson,[1] only eight appear in Strathclyde—viz., *Meall*, *Creag* (*Craig*), *Carn*, *Druim* (*Drum*), *Dun*, *Cnoc*, *Ros*, *Ceann*, and nearly all these have their Cymric equivalents.

For wood we have *shaw*, which is probably the Scandinavian *skogr*. We have an Anglo-Saxon root, *sceaga*. *Den*, or *dean*, is pretty frequent, and is from the Anglo-Saxon *denu*, a wooded hollow. *Field* occurs in Jedderfield, originally Jedworthfield, Hutcheonfield, and means a forest clearing; the Anglo-Saxon is *feld*. In Norway we have of course *field* or *fyeld* for a plateau of mountains, as Dovre Fyeld, Hardanger Fyeld. Curiously enough, the *fields* of Peeblesshire are on rather elevated places.

For a valley, one of the most common names in the Tweed district, especially towards the upper part, is *hope*. There is no Anglo-Saxon word corresponding to this. In Icelandic *hop* is haven, *recessus maris*. Cleasby does not give it, but Egilsson gives *hóp*, as sea, and adds that

[1] *Gaelic Topography*, 468.

hóp is properly an estuary formed by lake or river discharging itself into the sea.[1] We have an example of this application in St Margaret's Hope on the coast of Fife; and no doubt the primary idea of it is shelter, as in a land-locked bay, or in the sloping hollow between two hills. In Celtic, *hope* is a small valley between mountains. Whatever race brought *hope* into the Lowlands of Scotland—into the Tweed, the Yarrow, and the Ettrick—it must have been a very numerous body. If of Scandinavian origin, as it seems to be, it points to a large and permanent element of this people in the district. It is one of the commonest and sweetest of our names. *Hof* in Anglo-Saxon is a farm and the house upon it. And of course we have the German *hof;* but I doubt whether *hope* has anything but an indirect connection with either of those terms. In Hopprewe we have a distinct Scandinavian suffix—*prue*, ladies, or perhaps cows, as the term is so applied in Peeblesshire. Up in the Hopes we find frequently *shiel* and *shieling*. These are from the old Norse *skáli*, a shepherd's hut, or hut put up on the hills for the protection of the keepers of cattle or sheep during the summer:—

> "Quhar hyrdys mycht in herbry be
> Nycht and day to kepe their fé."[2]

It is now so used in Norway. The people who named the hopes put down the shielings. *Shiel* or *shield* is the common form in the Lowlands, and it prevails in the east of Cumberland; while *scale*, meaning the same thing, is the form in the west of that county. *Scale*

[1] *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis*, sub voce.
[2] Wyntoun, i. v. 213.

has been supposed to come from the Norse *skáli;* while *shiel* is from the Danish *skial.*

Dale, too, must be set down to the account of the Scandinavian; and this is very important, for it covers all the great valleys—Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Eskdale, Liddesdale, Annandale, and Clydesdale. In England there are at least one hundred and forty-two dales, clearly attributable to the same language.[1]

In the term *gait,* meaning a road, we have a distinct Scandinavian word. When a man speaks of "taking the gait," he is using the words of the old Danish settlers, for in Danish *gait* (*gata*) means a road or street, a passage along, whereas in Anglo-Saxon (*geate*) it means a passage through—that is, an opening or gate.

We have thus seen that there is a considerable number of names which we must refer to the northern Teutonic or Scandinavian language, even among words of the most frequent occurrence. There is also, however, a very considerable number of appellations, which, though of less frequent use, are distinctively Scandinavian. These are —for hills, *fell* and *rig;* for ravine and burn, *gill* and *beck;* and for dwelling-place or town, *by, bye. Fell* is common in Liddesdale, and in Cumberland and Westmoreland:—

> "Adieu! Grossars, Nickesons, and Bells,
> Oft have we fairne ourthreuch the fells."[2]

The word *byr,* another form of *by,* is *byre,* cowhouse, one of the commonest terms in the whole of the Lowlands. Instances of these are found in the valley of the Tweed

[1] See Worsaæ, *The Danes in England,* 71.
[2] Sir David Lyndsay, *Death of Common Thrift,* i. 162.

itself; for the river afforded an opening to the invaders from the sea in the eighth and ninth centuries. But the locality and distribution of the names rather show that the Scandinavians did not make their main approach into the district by the river. They came apparently from their settlements in Cumberland and Dumfries upwards to the southern and south-eastern slopes of the uplands of the Tweed. Cymri or Saxon would be ready to defend the opening of the river. They were more exposed to invasion on the long ridges of the southern hills. There, too, the Scandinavian had a background and support in the Norwegian settlements on the shores of the Solway. Along the watershed of the Cheviots—between Roxburgh and Cumberland, and the tributaries of the Teviot on the north, and those of the Esk and the Liddel on the south —we find very frequently the Scandinavian *rig* (*ryg*) and *fell* for hill. These, indeed, alternate pretty constantly with the Saxon *law*. And further north-westward, in the same line of country, we have, besides, the Scandinavian *beck* and *gil* or *gill*. Capplegil, Bodsbeck, Drycleuch Rig, Black Rig, Hawkshaw Rig, show that the Scandinavians had found their way up the Moffat Water to the southern hills, whence the streams flow to the Yarrow. Thence probably they had passed by the Douglas Burn over into the secluded valley of Glensax, which trends north-eastwards to the Tweed; for we find in it the Dunrig and Newby, or the new settlement, obviously planted by Scandinavian incomers. A tributary of the Glensax Water bears the name of Waddenshope, undoubtedly Woden's Hope—Saxon possibly, hardly Scandinavian, for Odin was the northern form of the

name of the god-inspirer of warlike fury. What makes this derivation almost certain is that in 1262, in the dispute about certain rights in this glen between an early Saxon settler, Robert Cruik of Cruikston, and the burgesses of Peebles, what is now Waddenshope was called *Waltam's Hope;* and we know that Woden and Waltam were synonymous terms.[1] This seems to indicate, what we might independently expect, that the Saxons had been located in the valley before the Scandinavians came and named their settlement *Newby*. Besides the *by* in this local designation, we have it in the distinctively Danish name *Baddeby*, which appears in the earliest charters as that of a proprietor of lands in the adjoining valley of the Manor. Right opposite the opening of Glensax, and on a hill-face on the north bank of the Tweed, are the marked remains of an ancient fort. The name of it, Janet's Brae, is supposed to be a corruption of Dane's Brae. Soonhope, the glen and stream which rounds the Dane's Brae, is Swinehope, a Scandinavian word, as we have Swinethorpe in Danish England. The foreigner had evidently struck down at this point from the southern hills on the valley of the Tweed, and here established himself with a hold of the places. The same people had passed up Evandale and Annandale, leaving their *dale* in each; for to the west and north-west of the sources of the Tweed we have Hartfell, Fopperbeck, Badlieu Rig, Duncan Gill, Wind Gill, Snow Gill, and Ram Gill. These *gills* are the ravines through which small streams flow northwards to the pastoral vale of Upper Clydesdale. Chapman's Gill

[1] See *Charters of the Burgh of Peebles, Scottish Burgh Records Society*, 4.

is in Talla. We have also Baddensgill—that is, Baldewynsgill (in 1411)—on the slope of the Pentlands.

But besides these local names, it appears that in the vernacular of the people of the Lowlands there is a large number of words of Scandinavian origin, Danish-Norwegian, or Danish purely. Indeed Mr Worsaæ holds that "the popular language in the Lowlands contains a greater number of Scandinavian words and phrases than even the dialect of the north of England."[1] "The language of the north of England," says Sir G. W. Dasent, "and especially the dialect called Lowland Scotch, was full, and to this day is full, of words and expressions which can only be explained by help of the Icelandic as the representative of the old Northern language spoken by the Scandinavian settlers in England."[2] The terms given below we have in Tweeddale, the most of them in common with the people among the mountains of Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. Several of them are doubtless in use in other parts of Scotland. But the characteristic thing is that they are all without exception to be found now, or at least might have been so very recently, in the language spoken by the common people native to Tweeddale, and therefore not derived either from books or from other parts of the Lowlands. And what is conclusive of their native origin, these words are, as a rule, quite common in the old Border ballads, which were transmitted by oral tradition, in many cases through numerous generations, down to the commence-

[1] *The Danes in England*, 202.

[2] Introduction to Cleasby's *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 49.

ment of the present century, the date of the collection of the *Minstrelsy of the Border*. The truth in the matter seems to be that, while the Angle speech of Northumbria became the language of Scotland, it was largely intermixed with Scandinavian terms before it spread beyond the bounds of Northumbria itself; and thus the greater part of the Scandinavian words of common speech to be found in other parts of Scotland (except, of course, the Orkneys and Shetland) were carried along with the Angle from the ancient kingdom of Bernicia.

The great majority of the words here given is taken from Worsaæ's table.[1] I have, however, added several words which are not to be found in that table. These I have selected from the vernacular of Tweedside. I have also assigned to them their Scandinavian etymology. In some cases an Anglo-Saxon root might be supposed to yield the name, but, as a rule, the words here set down are nearest in spelling and in pronunciation to the Scandinavian form.

Tweeddale.	*English.*	*Danish.*
Allars.	Alders.	Elletraer.
Awns.	Beards of corn.	Avner.
Bairn.	Child.	Barn.
Bake-board.	Baking-board.	Back-bword.
Bid.	To invite.	Byde, indbyde.
Bide.	To stay.	Bie.
Big, biggin.	To build, building.	Bygge, bygning.
Byre.	A cowhouse.	Byr, same as by.
Blend.	To mix.	Blande.
Boll or Bole.	Trunk of a tree.	Bul.
Bord-claith.	Table-cloth.	Bordklæde.
Bower or bour.	Bedchamber.	Buur.
Clip.	To cut.	Clippe.

[1] *The Danes in England*, 85, 86.

Tweeddale.	*English.*	*Danish.*
Cluve, cloof.	Hoof.	Klov, hov.
Drucken.	Drunken.	Drukken.
Dyke, dike.	Ditch.[1]	Dige.
Elt.	To knead.	Ælte.
Flit.	To remove from one house to another.	Flitte.
Fra.	From.	Fra.
Fou.	Drunk.	Fuld.
Frem-folks.	Fremd, strangers.	Fremmede-folke.
Gait, gate.	Road, street.	Gata.
Gar.	To make, cause.	Gjöre.
Glowring.	Staring.	Gloende.
Gowk.	Cuckoo.	Gjöge.
Greit, greets.	To weep, tears.	Grœde, graad.
Greype, grape.	Dung-fork.	Möggreve.
Grise.	Young pig.	Grüs.
Groats.	Husked corn.	Grudtet korn.
Hald.	Hold.	Hald.
Hand-clout.	Towel.	Haandklæde.
Handsel.	Earnest, gift.	Hansel.
Harns, harn-pan.	Brains, brain-pan.	Hjerne, hjerne-skal.
Heck.	Hay-rack.	Hække (til hö).
Hesp.	Latch.	Haspe (dör).
Hindberries.	Raspberries.	Hindbaer.
Hoose.	House.	Huus.
Hose.	Stocking.	Hose.
Kaam, kem.	Comb, to comb.	Kam, kæmme.
Kail, kale.	Cabbage.	Kaal.
Kern- or kirn-milk.	Churn-milk.	Kjernemelk.
Kern, kirn.	To churn.	Kjerne.
Kilt.	To tuck up.	Kilte.
Kitling.	Kitten.	Killing.
Kirkyard.	Churchyard.	Kirkgarth.
Leister.	Barbed fish-spear.	Lyster.
Ling.[2]	Heath.	Ling.
Loft.	Roof, upper room.	Loft.
Lowe.	Flame.	Lue.
Midden.	Dunghill.	Mödding.
Mind.	To remember.	Mindes.
Mirk, murk.	Dark.	Mörk.
Nab.	To catch.	Nappe.

[1] Now applied to a dry-stone wall, used in place of the old fence ditch.

[2] One kind of bell-heather; also applied to the common heather.

Tweeddale.	*English.*	*Danish.*
Neaf or neif, neaf-full.	Fist, handful.	Næve, nævefuld.
Neb.	Bill, beak, nose.	Næb.
Nipping.	To sip.	Nippe.
Nowth, nowt.	Neat, cattle.	Nöd.
Pot-scar.	Potsherd.	Potteskar.
Quern.	Hand-mill.	Qværn.
Read, rede.	To guess, know fully.	Raade, udtyde.
Read, red.	To comb.	Rede (haar).
Reastet.	Toasted.	Ristet.
Reik or reek.	Smoke.	Rög.
Rid.	To remove.	Rydde.
Rig, riggin.	Back, ridge of a house.	Ryg, rygning.
Rip up.	To revive (injuries).	Rippe op.
Rive.	To split, tear asunder.	Rive (splitte).
Rock.	Distaff.	Rok.
Roun, rouner.	Spawn, salmon about to spawn.	Rogn.
Rowan-tree.	Mountain-ash.	Ronnetræ.
Sackless.[1]	Without suit, guiltless.	Sageslös.
Sark, serk.	Shirt.	Særk.
Schrike or skrike.	To shriek.	Skrige.
Sele.	To bind, fasten.	Bind, sele.
Shaw.	Wood.	Skov, skogr.
Slae-thorn.	Sloe-thorn.	Slaatjörn.
Sleck, slock, slocken.	To put out, quench.	Slukke.
Smiddy.	Blacksmith's shop.	Smedie.
Smooth-hole.	Hiding-place.	Smuthul.
Speer.	To ask.	Spörge.
Stee or stey.	Ladder, steep.	Stige.
Stot.	Young horse, bullock.	Stod.
Stumpy.	Short, thick.	Stumpet.
Sype, sipe.	To drop gently, ooze.	Sive.
Thack.	Thatch.	Thack.
Theaker, thackker.	Thatcher.	Thackker.
Threaves, thraves.	Bundles of twenty or thirty sheaves.	Traver.
Toom.	Empty.	Tom.
Trows.[2]	Troughs.	Trow.

[1] "Wherein that sackless knight was slain."—*Old Ballad.*

[2] Trows, "a curious sort of double boat, which is used in spearing salmon in parts of a river where they cannot be taken with a net."—Brockett, *Glossary of North Country Words*, sub voce. Also applied to boats for crossing a river held together by a cross-pole.

Tweeddale.	*English.*	*Danish.*
Unrid or unred.	Disorderly.	Uredt, urede.
Uphold.	To maintain.	Holde oppe.
Wan or wand.	Rod.	Vaand.
War and war.	Worse and worse.	Værre og værre.
Wark, to mak a wark.	Ache, to complain.	Værk (smerte).
Yard.	Garden.	Gaard.
Yen or yin.	One.	Een, also Dutch, een.

To these are still to be added various terms relating to pastoral life which are distinctively Norse. Thus, both in Cumberland and the Scottish Lowlands, we have for a two-year-old sheep *twinter* (*twy-winter*), for a three-year-old *trinter*, for a female sheep after its first shearing *gimmer*. A female lamb is a *gimmer-lamb;* in Icelandic *lamb-gymbern*, in Danish *gimmerlam*. *Lug-mark* is from the Icelandic *lögg-mark*.[1] The *twinter* and *trinter* are explained by the fact that the ancient Norwegians computed by winters,—two winters, three winters. In this they were followed by the Lowland Scots:—

"Five twynteris brynit he as was the gyis."

Wedder is properly *wether*, Icelandic *vedr*,[2] Anglo-Saxon *wether*.

There is thus evidence of a larger Norse or Scandinavian population on the Tweed in the old times than has been generally supposed. At the same time it must be admitted that the names of places due to the northern Teutons are few as compared with those of the same origin in Cumberland and Dumfries. We have on Tweedside itself neither *beck*, *garth* (a large farm), nor *wald*, so common in counties to the south and south-west

[1] Gawain Douglas, *Virgil*. Cf. Brockett, *Glossary*, sub voce, and Ferguson, *Cumberland*, x. 152.

[2] *d* here is equivalent to *th*.

of it. *Kell,* a spring, Danish-Norwegian, survives in Kellhead and Kells in Dumfriesshire; but it is not found on Tweedside. The Danish *toft* (field) is found pretty frequently. But we have no trace of *thorpe* (a village), *thwaite* (a cleared and isolated piece of land), unless perhaps in Moorfoot,[1] *with* (forest), *force* (waterfall), or *tarn,* as in the eastern, midland, and northern counties of England.

The facts that the most of the Scandinavian words now found in the valley of the Tweed belong to the ordinary vernacular speech of the people, and that the names of places attributable to the languages of the northern Teutons are much fewer than the Anglo-Saxon, seem to point to a late popular immigration, when the localities had already received fixed appellations. This may have taken place in the eleventh century, when the Danish dynasty in England was overthrown by the Norman William,[2] and when it was likely that the Dane, loving democracy and hating feudalism as much as the Anglo-Saxon, would coalesce with him and seek, as he did, an asylum in the north under the line of the kings sprung from the Saxon Margaret. At the same time it seems obvious from the Scandinavian names of places and natural features, that long before this period, probably in the ninth century, the Norwegians had spread northwards from Cumberland and Dumfries. They penetrated apparently by the vales of the Liddel and the Esk to the watershed of the Cheviots, and to the heights about the head of the Ettrick. They found

[1] *Murethwayt* is in *Border Laws,* 219.
[2] Compare Worsaæ, *The Danes in England,* 205.

their way up Annandale, and diverging by the Moffat Water to the east, they passed into the vale of the Yarrow and even the southern feeders of the Tweed. And following the course of the Evan upwards from the same dale, they formed a thin line round the north-eastern watershed of the Tweed, and occupied the glens that slope northwards to Upper Clydesdale. They passed to some extent westwards in Dumfriesshire beyond the valley of the Esk and the Annan; but when we come to the Nith and the country beyond, we find ourself among a preponderating number of Gaelic names.

It might be somewhat hazardous to attempt a distribution of the Scandinavian names among the branches of that language. Worsaæ, however, is inclined to regard as Norwegian *dale*, *force*, *fell* (*fjall*), *tarn* (old Norwegian, *tjörn*, *tjarn*), and *haugh*. "Exactly similar names," he tells us, "are met with to this day in the mountains of Norway, whilst they are less common, or altogether wanting, in the flat country of Denmark."[1] In fact, as a rule, the Norwegians in emigrating preferred a mountainous country like their own. And this may account partly for their choice of Cumberland and the valleys of the Esk and the Liddel, and for the names they have left in the uplands of Tweeddale. This view is strengthened by the absence in those districts of *thwaite* and *thorpe*, properly Danish forms.

This Scandinavian population has certainly left its impress on the unwritten compositions of the north of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, and through these now on the literature of our time. The Saxon

[1] *The Danes in England*, 72, 73.

had neither, as has been well said, "the pathos which inspires the bardic songs of the vanquished Cymri, the exulting imagination which reigns in the sagas of the north, nor the dramatic life which animates everywhere the legendary tales that light up the dim beginnings of a people's history." The Scandinavian genius, on the other hand, was essentially bardic; and it sung of action, of deeds of daring, and of battle. That intense ballad spirit, which loved and celebrated personal deeds, to the exclusion nearly of all else, through the middle period of Scottish history, and which was pre-eminently developed in the north of England, the Scandinavian area of settlement, and in the Lowlands of Scotland, seems to have been an outcome mainly of the Danish and Norwegian blood. The frame of the old ballad even, as well as its animating soul, was a legacy of the ardour, the life, and the idiosyncrasy of the Northmen who left their descendants in our glens. And several of the refrains which have come down to us through the years, and from what we suppose are our Scottish ancestors, are really runes that were chanted long ago by the bards of the sea-lords from Scandinavia, when they sung of loyalty to hero and successful chief.[1]

The question arises, Have we now any traces of the blood and appearance of those Scandinavians in the district, be they old Norse, Norwegian, or Danish? Let us hear what Mr Worsaæ says of his experience in the north of England: "In the midland, and especially in the northern part of England, I saw every moment, and particularly in the rural districts, faces exactly resembling

[1] Compare Worsaæ, *The Danes in England*, 89.

those at home. Had I met the same persons in Denmark or Norway, it would never have entered my mind that they were foreigners. Now and then I also met with some whose taller growth and sharper features reminded me of the inhabitants of South Jutland or Sleswick, and particularly of Angeln, districts of Denmark which first sent colonists to England. It is not easy to describe peculiarities which can be appreciated in all their details only by the eye; nor dare I implicitly conclude that in the above-named cases I have really met with persons descended in a direct line from the old Northmen. I adduce it only as a striking fact, which will not escape the attention of at least any observant Scandinavian traveller, that the inhabitants of the north of England bear, on the whole, more than those of any other part of that country, an unmistakable personal resemblance to the Danes and Norwegians."[1] This is very interesting and instructive. It would have been still more so had the writer been able to extend his observations to the shepherds in the vales of the Teviot, the Ettrick, and the Yarrow, and in the uplands of the Tweed. I do not doubt but that after the long lapse of the centuries he would have found there a good many types of the class which he observed in the north of England. He thus sums up the physical characteristics of the north of England people as distinguished from the Lowlander of the south: "The form of the face is broader, the cheek-bones project a little, the nose is somewhat flatter and at times turned a little upwards,

[1] *The Danes in England*, 79, 80.

the eyes and hair are of a lighter colour, and even deep-red hair is far from being uncommon. The people are not very tall in stature, but usually more compact and strongly built than their countrymen towards the south." [1] We know with certainty that the *Fin Gall* or *Finn Gennti*, the White Strangers or Norwegians, obtained a permanent settlement near the Tees and in York, under Eric of the Bloody Axe, son of Harald Harfagr. They were favoured by Aethelstan, that they might protect the coast against their own northern neighbours the *Dubh Gall* or *Dubh Gennti*, the Black Strangers or Danes.

Mr Worsaæ might have found among the hills of Ettrick and Yarrow as perfect types of the fair or Norwegian blood as any to be met with in the north of England. And as for surnames of persons, the pure Scandinavian *sön* or *sen* is frequent, as in Anderson, Johnson, and many others, among "the braw lads" of Ettrick and Gala. Johnson, a bold, brave name in the Lowlands, is a true Norse name, the most common in Iceland, as it is one of the most common in the Lowlands of Scotland, and there associated with deeds of personal daring among the roughest in Border history. In the beginning of this century there might have been seen any day on the braes of Yarrow a shepherd-lad with features, hair, and frame of body as like Worsaæ's description of the typical Scandinavian as could well be found. In him, too, there were thrilling ideals and weird imaginings, such as might have moved in the heart of any *Skald;* and he bore a name which might very fairly be regarded

[1] *The Danes in England*, 79.

as indicating the Norwegian blood; for the Ettrick Shepherd was not named from the *hog* of the hillside, but from the *haug* or *haig* of the old northern tongue, as the lairds of Bemerside carried it honourably through the long centuries of Scottish story.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS—NAMES OF PLACES AND NATURAL OBJECTS—*Continued.*

The examination of the local names of the district carries us far back beyond the period alike of Scandinavian and of Anglo-Saxon immigration, for we find a large number of Celtic local names and generic appellations. Of these, some belong equally to different branches of the Celtic language. They are found, for example, in the Irish or Gaelic, and in the Cymric divisions. But, apart from these, there is a large and highly distinctive class of British or Cymric words.

The names of the principal streams, of the higher and more remote hills, are not Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian; they are not Gaelic, they are Cymric or British. We find the same generic appellations as occur in Wales, in Cornwall, and Devonshire, and even across the Channel in Brittany. In broken and modified forms the same roots appear in the names of the principal rivers and mountains in large portions of Europe, particularly in Germany, Italy, Spain, and France. Thus of names of rivers the following must be regarded as Celtic, probably Cymric—viz., *Allan*

or *Alwin* (found also in Flint, Dorset, and Cornwall); *Aln, Alne,* or *Ale, Cayle, Caddon, Eden, Esk, Gad* or *Jed* (in Hertford); *Gala* (*Gwala* in Pembrokeshire); *Leader* (in Carnarvon); *Lid* (in Cornwall and Devon); *Ouse, Rule, Tarth, Teviot* (in Cardigan, Devon, Glamorgan); *Tweed* (in Cheshire); *Yarrow* (in Lancashire); *Yair* (in Devon).[1] It is here we touch on the earliest race known to history who peopled the valley of the Tweed, that wave of population which at a remote period flowed from Asia over the greater part of Europe, preceding Slavonic and Teutonic alike.

It is somewhat difficult to classify those old names, and to assign each to its special branch of the Celtic. But we may yet make an approximation to this, and in several cases we have complete certainty as to the particular branch to which a root belongs. The two great divisions of the Celts are of course the Gaels and the Cymri. Whether they were thus divided before they came into Europe, or whether the bifurcation took place after this event, it is difficult to say. In Germany at least there seems evidence of the fact that the Gaels were there first, and that the Cymri followed them. There is some evidence for the supposition that the Gaels passed over into Britain from the valleys of the Rhine and the Moselle; while the Cymri appear to have come into the island from the remoter Alps. The language of the Gael is represented by that of Ireland and the Scoto-Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland; that of the Cymri by the Armorican of Brittany, the Cornish, and the Welsh. The Cornish is extinct as a spoken

[1] Cf. Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, i. 156.

language, Welsh is still living over a considerable area, and Armorican is said to be the speech of a million and a half of Frenchmen.[1]

Of the Celtic root-words in the valley of the Tweed we have, first of all, forms which are common to the Gaelic and Cymric branches of the language. These may, perhaps, be regarded as belonging to the old Celtic before it was divided into two dialects, the Gaelic and Cymric. These are: *ard, glen, dal*[2] (a plain), *dun, loch* (Cymric, *llwch*), *pol* (Irish *pol*, Arm. *poull*, Welsh *pwll*).

Of these, however, *glen* may be fairly claimed as Cymric. The Armorican is *glen*, the Welsh is *glyn*, the Gaelic is *gleann*. *Pol*, too, is the direct Cornish form as well as Irish.

Of this class, the root-forms common to Gaelic and Cymric, *ard*, high, may be regarded as represented in the old word *ord*, or *orde*. The *Orde* appears in a document of about the year 1200, *Divise de Stobbo*, the marches between Stobo, Hopprewe, and Orde.[3] The Orde was the high-lying district towards the head of the Stobo Hopes. We have it still in Lochurd and Ladyurd. *Glen*, the Cymric form, abounds in the district. *Dun* or *don*, a hill or eminence, also a hill-fort, very old Celtic, is found as a suffix, generally in the name of a hill, as in Cardon. *Dun*, for a fort, is very rare in Peeblesshire, but it is common in Dumfries, as Dunscore, *dun-sgoire*, fort of the sharp rock. *Dun* is frequent in words on the con-

[1] Compare Taylor, *Words and Places*, 203.

[2] *Dal* is, of course, also Norse.

[3] Printed in *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i. 89, No. 104.

tinent of Europe. One is very striking. *Melun* is Melodunum, and that is Mealdun, a fort on the rounded or conical hill. We have the original form almost exactly in Meldon or Meal-dun, a hill by the Tweed in Peeblesshire, topped with curious old strongholds. We have also the Saxon *dun* applied to a hill, but obviously the adjective of colour, as in Dun Law. We have, on the boundaries of the old Cymri, Dun-glas, grey fort, and Dundas, *dun-deas*, the south fort. *Loch* is very common for an inland sheet of water, and is very near the Welsh form of the word (*llwch*). *Pol*, a pool, appears in Polmood. *Mood* is probably *môd*, an enclosure or fold. *Pol* is also in Polternam and in Poltenstobbo, names which occur in the *Divise de Stobbo* already referred to. Polternam was the name of the little stream or burn which formed the march between Stobo and Hopprewe (Happrew) in the twelfth century. The other part of the word may be *ter*, clear, or *tern*, full of motion. *Pol* is usually softened into *pow* in the vernacular of the district.[1] We have also Polten-tarf as one of the headwaters of the Lyne.

There is, secondly, a class of root-forms which belong to the Gaelic alone. These are: *cul*, *drum*, *inch*, *kin*, *knock*, *ra*. But, as a rule, few of these forms occur more than once.

Of the purely Gaelic root-forms we have an example of *cul*, back or recess, in Culter or Cultir, the land at the back. But *Cul-tir* might be Cornish for narrow strip of land. *Drum*, ridge, appears in Drum Maw,[2] and in

[1] Cf. Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, i. 306.

[2] Not far from this is Mount Maw, one of the Pentlands. The Moss of

Drummelzier. The oldest form of this name which appears in writing in Drumedler. Fordun gives Dunmeller, and *melr*, pl. *melar*, is old Norse for bent-grass. But this is probably merely an inaccuracy in spelling. *Inch*, islet, is found applied to a small island in the centre of the Tweed near Barns. *Kin* is in Kingeldores. The oldest form is Kyngeldores, the later Kingildoris. *Knock*, hill or mound, is in Knock Knowes. *Ra* or *rha* is in Rachan. But the *ra* may be the Norse *ra*, *raa*, *wraa*, a corner, landmark, as in Wrae.

There is, thirdly, a class which belongs to the Cymric alone, either in its form of Welsh, or of Cornish and Armorican. This comprises: *alt*, a cliff or hill, *cairn* (a heap), *cefn* (back), *caer*, *cors*, *cwm*, *craig* (Welsh, a rock, Gaelic is *carraig*), *gar* (shank or leg, also fort), *lin*, *man* (a place or district), *pen*, *ros* (Cornish, Welsh *rhos*, a moor), *tre*, *trev*, pl. *trevow* (Cornish, a dwelling-place), *tar*, *tor*. We have thus a great number of root-forms belonging to the Cymric alone, and it will be found that among these are the Celtic names of most frequent occurrence in the district. Of these forms there can be little doubt that *craig*, *dun*, *glen*, and *pol* were adopted from the original nomenclature of the district by the advancing Saxons, and incorporated into their language. *Dal* may be in some cases the Scandinavian *dale*. When Scandinavian,

Maw seems to have lain in the valley between these hills. *Maw* means expanding. *Mawn* is Welsh for peat:—

> "From the bush of Maw and Eiddyn,
> It would not take opposition.
> Friendly the aid of Clydwyn."

Taliessin, xi., Skene, *Four Books*, i. 337. Maw is thus connected with Eiddyn or Edinburgh.

it usually appears as a suffix, as in Tweeddale; when Celtic, as a prefix, as in Dalmarnock. Of the third class, the purely Cymric root-forms, *alt*, a cliff or hill, is found in Cramalt (Welsh *allt*), the bowed or bent cliff, an appellation exceedingly appropriate to the natural appearance. Altrive, originally *Eltreif*, in the valley of the Yarrow, may perhaps be referred to the same root. It may be, however, that Cramalt is Gaelic—*crom*, crooked, and *allt*, a burn or mountain stream. *Cefn*, back, is in the Cheviots, as it is found in Chevington in Northumberland, and Chevin in Wharfdale. In France it is represented in Les Cevennes. "*Cefn*, dorsum, pars superior, dorsum montis, supersunt *les Cevennes* apud Gallos: Gebennici montes."[1] *Cairn* is very common, meaning a rock or a heap of stones. It is most usually applied in its Cymric sense (Carnedd) to a heap of stones, originally probably a *tumulus*, as opposed to its Gaelic sense of a rock simply. *Cacr* is one of the most frequent names for a hill-fort, and hence for the hill itself, as Cardrona, the fort on the ridge, Caersman, the place of the fort. Spelman gives Cardronocke in Cumberland. *Caer* means originally a wall—hence a walled place, fort, city. The root is *cae*, enclosure. *Caer* is clearly an original Celtic, even Cymric word. It appears in the names of places and men already existing before the times of Cæsar and Agricola. A list of at least twenty-eight cities, bearing the prefix *caer*, can be made up from Nennius, Henry of Huntingdon, Alfred of Beverley. *Kair Ebrauc* (*Eboracum*), *Kair Kent* (*Cantuaria*), are

[1] Leibnitz, *Collectanea Etymologica Celtica*, 103.

examples.[1] It was once much more common than now in the Lowlands. In a charter to the burgh of Peebles of James VI. of 1621, we have as names of places, now almost unknown, Carcads, Carlincraig, and Card, all apparently in one glen. And although *cathair*, pronounced *cair*, and the abbreviated form *car*, is found in Irish and Scoto-Gaelic, the form on Tweedside is distinctively the Cymric one, *caer*. It was without doubt originally applied by the latter people to the numerous hill-forts in which they withstood Roman, Gael, Pict, and Saxon in turn. It is one of the most common generic appellations wherever we find a Cymric people. The Armorican is *cear* and *ker*, the latter being the precise form of the family name common on Tweedside, just as one now finds it over the doors of shops in Bretagne. *Caver* or *cavers*, not unfrequent, is probably British for corn-growing farm. But there is *Cavares* on the continent of Europe, and Zeuss seems to refer this and other forms of it to *cawr* or *caur*, a giant.

Cors, a bog or fen, common in Cornwall, appears in Corscumynfielde, or Corscunningfielde, an old but now extinct name of a boggy meadow near Peebles; and Kershope, the Border boundary, appears early as Corshope, though here the prefix is more likely *ker* or *caer*, from its proximity to *Caerby*. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that there is a Gaelic form *car*, meaning curve or bend, and this would apply exactly to the case of the crescent ridge of Cardon. Corscleugh and Tam-

[1] See note by Gale to Nennius, *Britannicæ Historiæ Scriptores*, 135 (ed. 1691).

lunkhart Corse in the Yarrow, and probably also Jeffrey's Corse, a hill beyond Bowbeat in the Moorfoot range, are to be attributed to the Anglo-Saxon *cross*, for which *corse* is common. *Gar* occurs more than once, and means shank, also heron, probably from its long shank. It appears in Garlet and Garlavin, hills at the head of the Cymric Talla. *Gar* or *gair* also means fort, as in Kittlegairy.[1] *Lavin* is probably the Cornish *lawan*, birds. *Coomb* is not uncommon, probably from the root *cwm*, a cup-shaped depression in the hills, hence a shelter or place between hills, and thence probably applied to the hill itself. We have Coomlees in the original sense. White Coomb is on the borders of Peeblesshire and Dumfries, and Kingledoors Coomb is in Tweedsmuir. *Cwm* is found in districts where the Cymric element is strong, and seems to have been adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, and changed by them into *coomb* or *combe*, as is common in the south of England. But Professor Leo of Halle maintains that the Saxon *combe* or *coomb* is due to a Saxon root, *cimban*, to join.[2] *Lin*, a pool, is common, as in *linn*, a waterfall, or pool at the foot of it. It is also in the Water of Lyne, and in Linton. *Lin* is the Cornish form of the root; Welsh, *llyn;* Gaelic, *linne*. *Man*, a place or district, appears in Caersman. This is the same word as in the Isle of Man, and in Slamannan. *Pen*, a head, hence a hill, is a true Cymric test-word. It occurs frequently in Tweeddale. It will fall to be noticed more particularly in connection

[1] It is possible that *gar*, for fort, may be Scandinavian, from *gar*, to hedge; hence *garth*, an enclosure or fence.

[2] *Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons*, 83.

with the hill-names of the district. *Ros*, a moor, Cornish, is to be distinguished from the Gaelic *ros*, a headland. The former is supposed to appear in Melrose and Roslin;[1] but the Gaelic meaning, projection, would suit both places well. It is very common in Cornwall.

Tor, a prominence or projecting rock, appears in Tortye, Torbank, Torwood, Torwoodlee. Torsonce, Torquhan, Torcraik, are in a line northwards from Torwoodlee. Tushielaw is originally *Tor-shiel-law*,—showing successive strata of different tongues—viz., Cymric, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon. *Tor* is very common in Derby, Devon, and Cornwall. The *tar* in Tarcriesh, parish of Stobo, is probably the same prefix. This form in Gaelic is *torr*. The suffix in Tortye, on the Tweed near Dawyck, is the Welsh *ty*, a town or settlement. Tortye is thus wholly Cymric. We have *tor* in Tarbolton, or Torbolton, in Ayrshire, part of Strathclyde.

Tre, trev, treva, tra, and *dre*, are all forms of the same root, meaning a dwelling-place or home. These are Cymric, in fact mainly Cornish. Akin are the Irish *treabh* and the Gaelic *treubh*. The root *tre* is said to occur ninety-six times in the names of villages in Cornwall, and more than twenty times in the same use in Wales. It is frequent in Brittany, in France, and in Spain.[2] It occurs in Trahenna, Traquair, Trebetha, Dreva, and in Trabroun and other places in the eastern counties. Dreva is simply the softened form of Treva, and is analogous to Trêves, Trieste, Trient. The same race who left their names in the plains of Central Europe and on the sunny shores of the Adriatic, pitched their

[1] Taylor, *Words and Places*, 237.

[2] *Ibid.*, 240.

dwellings on the green sloping hills of the Tweed, and all that is left of them there or nearer home is the symbolic word. Traquair, in a document of the year 1116 is Treverquyrd, and in one shortly after the year 1143 is Trauequair. Trauefquer is also found in the 1200. These are the oldest spellings of the name we know. Mr Skene, than whom there is no higher authority on such a point, regards Traquair and Trabroun as derived from the Gaelic *treabher*, meaning "a naked side"—hence *traver*. The old form, Treverquyrd, rather supports this etymology. Trauequer and Trefquer seem to point, on the other hand, to the Cymric *trev* and *trevow*. There is at least no ground for supposing Trahenna, Trebetha, or Dreva to be other than the simple and obvious Cymric forms. And if Traquair be Gaelic, it is certainly among the rarer names of the district.

To these we ought perhaps to add the Cymric *lan*, *llan*, an enclosure, hence a church. For though this form is not found in the valley of the Tweed, it is found in Llanerch (Lanark), enclosure in the wood, and this was one of the principal towns in the kingdom of Strathclyde, of which Tweeddale was the south-east portion. *Llan* is said to occur ninety-seven times in names of villages in Wales, and thirteen times in Cornwall. It is probably to be found much more frequently in those districts. It is also very common in Brittany.[1] Mr Skene tells us that *llan* and *tor* are both Gaelic and Cymric, and that these are therefore not proper test-words between the dialects. No doubt he is right in the first assertion, though *lann* in Gaelic is given by Williams as an old and obsolete form.

[1] Taylor, *Words and Places*, 241.

But the very frequent and preponderating occurrence of these and other roots common to both dialects in Cymric districts, as opposed to Gaelic, points clearly to a certain continuity of race in the Cymri, since the words were first used by the common Celtic stock. And this continuity during a long lapse of time is sufficient to give a distinctive character alike to a branch race and a branch language. The subdivision of a people which keeps and uses certain terms which another subdivision abandons, wholly or in part, during the same period, makes for itself a distinctive dialect. We are thus entitled to regard a district in which these retained words are now found, though the Cymri may have disappeared from it, as once closer in race and language to the one subdivision, the Cymri, than to the other, the Gael. I think, also, that where there are two forms of the name of a place, one of which appears in Gaelic and another in the Cymric of the present day, we are entitled to regard an old local name which is the same with, or similar to the latter, as properly Cymric, having been given by the people whose language the Cymri have retained without material change. Those words in which consonants occur that are susceptible of certain uniform phonetic changes are no doubt the most certain tests, but they can hardly be regarded as the only ones.

If we look at the natural objects indicated by the Cymric names, we shall find among these the principal streams. Thus, Tweed is in Cymric *Tywi*, from the root *twy*, and probably means what limits, checks, or bounds. *Twyad* in Welsh is a hemming in. Robertson gives the Gaelic *Tuath-aid*, "the river flowing to the north side,"

the *th* being mute. The oldest spelling is in favour of the other derivation. Bede writes *Tuid.* In 1185 it is written *Tuede.*[1] Teviot is apparently from *Teifi*, a name common in the early Cymric poems. It is retained in the "Teiit," the vernacular pronunciation. The root is *tyw*, spreading round, and *Teifi* is supposed to mean the spreading stream. Both *Twyi* and *Teifi* are frequent in the oldest Welsh and Strathclyde literature. Fruid is in Cymric *frwyd*, and means the impulsive stream. The root *frw*, or *frou*, impulse, occurs in a great many Welsh words, and is finely imitative of the sounding rush of water. Talla is from *tal*, that tops or fronts. *Tal Ard* occurs in the poems of Merlin; and Taliessin, the early Cymric bard of Strathclyde, was "the bright-browed." No one will doubt the appropriateness of the name of the stream who has seen the Talla gleam in its line of foam, amid the mists of Lochcraig Head and Moll's Cleuch Dod, downwards through its precipitous glen, and then pass swiftly amid the glacier moraines, a thousand feet below its source, to plunge headlong over its linns. It fronts the eye grandly by its high foaming flow, and not less grandly does it surround and possess the ear with its continuously falling sound.

Lyne is from the root *lyn*, a pool, or slow-flowing body of water, and the term is specially descriptive of the Tweeddale Lyne. Manor was originally spelt Maineure. This was in 1186. Then Menare and Menar occur in 1401 and 1555. It is always pronounced Mæner in the vernacular. The root is, no doubt, *mæn*, a stone, the same form as in Manchester. And as the stream flows brightly

[1] *Acts of Scots Parliament, temp.* William the Lion.

along its rough channel, and makes an exquisite music amid its stones, every one must feel the appropriateness of the name. Mænawr is Welsh for a district comprehended in a stone boundary, hence manor. Mainnir in Gaelic is fold for cattle, or pen. Leithen is either from the root *laith*—that is, run out, dank, or humid—or from *lli*, a flow, or stream. Robertson gives *liathan* (*th* mute), the grey stream. Quair, originally Quyrd and Quer, is probably from the Cornish root *quirt*, later form *gwer*, Welsh *gwyrdh*, green. The epithet is singularly appropriate, both to the valley of the stream and to the bordering hills. To me it seems that Traquair is simply the dwelling in the green valley of the water. The eye of the modern poet catches the same feature which the old Cymri embodied in the name, and his fancy interprets it as symbolic of the freshness of primal human feeling :—

"Frae mony a but and ben
They cam yin' hour to spen' on the greenwood sward :
But lang hae lad and lass been lying 'neath the grass,
The green green grass o' Traquair kirkyard.
They were blest beyond compare,
When they held their trystin' there,
Amang the greenest hills shone on by the sun,
And there they wan a rest,
The lownest and the best,
I' Traquair kirkyard when a' was done."

Gala is from *gâl*, what is uttered or spread out, an open plain or a full stream.[1] In Yarrow we have doubtless the root *garw*, what is rough, rugged, a torrent. The oldest spelling is Gierua.[2] It is a rough and rapid stream,

[1] Robertson gives *geal-a*, the clear water. *Gwala* is in Pembrokeshire, and nearer the *galehe* and *galue* of the charters of William the Lion.

[2] *Liber de Calchou*—Original Charter of Earl David (1119-1124).

beautiful in its summer sheen, resistless in its winter flow. But around that originally rude old word what a wealth of tender and tragic associations has grown, and how sweetly and softly has it been for ages syllabled in song! Yair is no doubt from the same root, as are also Gareloch, Garve, and Garonne. "*Garw*, asper, rapidus. A rapiditate putat Camdenus dictam *Garumnam*."[1]

The fierce Rule Water, in Teviotdale, recalls at once the Cymric *rhu*, a forcible sending out, a roar, as *rhull*, its derivative, is, apt to break out, rash, hasty. It is not likely that Leyden had in his mind its root-origin, but see how accurately his description fits it :—

> "Between red ezlar banks that frightful scowl,
> Fring'd with grey hazel, roars the mining Roull."[2]

Bedrule, by the Rule Water, is probably from Bethoc-Rule. Ralph, the son of Dunegal, and his wife Bethoc gave to the Abbey of Jedburgh a ploughgate of land in Rughechester, with common pasture.[3] Bethoc is obviously a Cymric heiress,—a fading name of the old race, but worthy of memory from her descendant Randolph, the friend and ally of Robert Bruce.

The Tarth in Peeblesshire is of purely Cornish origin, from *tarth*, a breaking out. The root *tam*, spreading, quiet, still, as in the Thames, appears in the Tima or Timeye, which joins the Ettrick below Ettrick kirk. Tama or Thama is the name of the southern stream. After the junction with the Ysa it is Thamisia. Allan, or Aln, both in Roxburgh and Berwick, is said to be from the Gaelic *all*,

[1] Leibnitz, *Collectanea*, sub voce. [2] *Scenes of Infancy*, Part I.
[3] Morton, *Monastic Annals*, 51.

white; hence *al-ian*, white avon or stream.[1] It is quite as likely to come from the Welsh, *al-wen*, very white or bright. The Allan Water, near Melrose, was popularly called the Elwand. There is a river Alwen in North Wales; and the word *gwen*, white, is a local name of the district, as in Gwenystrad, up the Gala Water. The Cornish and Armorican word for water, *dour*, is preserved in the Daer in Upper Clydesdale.

In other parts of the area of the kingdom of Strathclyde there are streams the names of which we must attribute either to a Cymric or Gaelic origin. These are Clyde, Annan, Esk, Eden, Tyne, Avon or Evan, Calder. Clyde is from the Gaelic *clith*, strong. Bede writes it *Cluith*, and in 1200 it is *cliid* (*Cleed*). Esk is probably from the Cymric *wysg*, a current; the Gaelic is *uisge*. Avon, or Evan, is from the Cymric *afon*, water, one of the most common root-forms of the class, and used both as a root-word and a proper name. In Calder the suffix is *dur*, water, Welsh *dwr*, of the same stock as *dour* in Daer. The earliest form of Ettrick is *Eth-ryc* or *rig*. We have an Eth or Ethus after Constantine II., about 874, apparently a grandson of Kenneth Macalpine. It is just possible that *Eth-ryc* or *rig* means the kingdom or the range of mountains of this Eth or Ethy. The same prefix is probably in Ettybredeschelis, a forest-stead near Bowhill (1457), and apparently a seat of the Warden of Ettrick Forest.[2] Ethy was surnamed Winged-foot (*Alipes*), a fit designation for a ruler of the far-spreading wilds of Ettrick. It is difficult to know the

[1] Taylor, *Words and Places*, 225.
[2] Brown, *Selkirkshire*, i. 98.

truth about Ethy. He is with one set of chroniclers represented as a sensualist and deposed; with another he is a hero who fell fighting with his successor, Grig.

Then the most of the higher and more remote hills bear distinctively British names. The line of hills that bars the Border-land, the Cheviots, is, as we have seen, distinctively Cymric in designation. There is no better test-word of a Cymric origin than *pen*, a head, as applied to a hill. Nennius tells us that the name of the wall and agger of Severus (one hundred and thirty-two thousand paces across Britain) was in the British speech *Guaul*, and that it extended from *Penguaul*, called by the Scots *Cenail*, to the mouth of the river Cluth and Cairpentaloch.[1] It abounds in Wales and Cornwall. The Gaelic form is *ben* or *beann*, also *kin*, *cenn*, or *ceann*. *Ben* is universal in the Gaelic district beyond the Forth. It does not occur in the Lowlands, except perhaps in Benjock—that is, Benjoch near Dawyck—in Benrig in Roxburgh, in Benshaw, and in the reduplicated Mount Benger. If, however, this was originally *Mount Berger*, the name has quite another origin. With but one doubtful exception, the Cymric *pen* is not met with anywhere north of the Forth. Pendriech, the solitary *pen* there, is supposed to be a corruption of Pittendriech. But we have *pen* for hill pretty frequently in the valley of the Tweed, and we have evidence of the root in names of places in other parts of the kingdom of Strathclyde—as, for example, in the old town of Penrwnleth, on the Clyde at or below Bothwell, in the forest of Goddeu (Cadzow).

[1] Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, c. xix. If Cairpentaloch be Kirkintilloch, the historian must have had a vague idea of the termination of the wall.

The hills called *pens* in the south-eastern part of Strathclyde and districts adjacent—that is, in the valley of the Tweed and its tributaries — are, Pendriech or Penria, Penvalla, Penvenna, Lee Pen, Penchrise Pen, Pennygant, Peniel Heugh, Ettrick Pen, Penmanscore (Permanscore in the *Ballad of the Outlaw Murray*), Penangushope, Pennywhigate near Stow. To these we may add, though further north, Penston, Penshiel, Pencaitland. There are the Penton Linns and Penpont in Dumfriesshire, and Penninghame in Wigton.

Zeuss, the great Celtic philologist, has established as a test of the relative antiquity of the Cymric dialects this principle, that the older forms of the language preferred the sharp consonants to the flat, as *p* to *b*, and *t* to *d*.[1] Now this test, as applied to the Cymric names of Tweeddale, shows that these belong to the oldest forms of the language, and that, accordingly, they must have been given at a very remote or primitive period. The *p* of Pen, as opposed to Ben, is almost absolutely uniform. And, what is a very singular confirmation, the term mentioned as traditionally applied to Upper Tweeddale as early as the seventh century, is the *Coet Celyddon*, or Wood of Caledon, whereas the later phrase would have been *Coed*, and not *Coet*.[2] Professor Rhys, however, holds that the Brythonic or P branch, that of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, followed the Goidelic or Q branch, that of Ireland, Man, and Dalriada, and that the language of the latter was thus first in use in Britain.

However this may be, we have in the valley of the

[1] Arnold, *Celtic Literature*, 74.
[2] See Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, 56.

Tweed and its tributaries a decided preponderance of Cymric names and root-forms over Gaelic. We have the marked scarcity or absence of the distinctive Gaelic forms, such as *auchen, bal, bally, craigen, magh.* We have, further, no trace of the characteristically Pictish forms, *pit, auchter, for,* and *fin,* unless the last occurs in England. Of the Gallowegian *bar,* the top or point, we have no indication; and *ar* and *arie,* a hill-pasture, are awanting. The conclusion is unavoidable, that the earliest dwellers by the Tweed whose names have come down to us belonged to the Cymric branch of the Celtic. Our analysis of the Cymric names even shows that these belonged to the Cornish branch of the language rather than the Welsh.

And, curiously enough, the information we obtain from Ptolemy and other historical sources, confirms the supposition that the original inhabitants of the valleys of the Tweed and the Clyde, when history dawns, were identical with those of Cornwall. In the year 43 A.D., in the time of the Emperor Claudius, a line drawn across the island from the Severn to the Humber would have bounded the Roman province on the north. In a northerly direction beyond this limit lay the Brigantes, a tribe of Britons thought by the Romans to be indigenous; while the tribes further south were regarded as immigrants from Belgic Gaul. The Brigantes stretched as far north as the Firth of Forth. Wales was occupied by the Silures and Ordovices. Beyond these, in what is now England, the Brigantes spread from the Eastern to the Western Sea; on the north-west they passed across the Solway and included Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wig-

ton. In Dumfries they were called Selgovæ, or Elgovæ, and in the two latter counties Novantæ. On the east coast of the island, south of the Forth, in the counties of Northumberland, Berwick, part of Roxburgh, and Haddington, the Brigantes bore the name of the Otalini or Ottadeni. On the west and north of the Brigantes, and occupying all the country to the estuary of the Tay, were the Damnii or Damnonii. They stretched through Selkirk and Peebles up Tweeddale to Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr. The Lowthers and the chain of hills which form the watershed between the streams flowing southwards to the Solway and those going northwards to the Firth of Clyde and the Western Sea, separated them from the Brigantes along the shores of the Solway. The Damnonii crossed the Forth and held Stirling, Dumbarton, Menteith, Stratherne, Fothreve or the western part of the peninsula of Fife. Their northern limit was the estuary of the Tay.

The Britons immediately west of the Ottadeni were called Gadeni. The Gadeni seem to have occupied the western part of Northumberland, a portion of Roxburghshire, Selkirk, and Peebles, and probably Linlithgow to the Forth. The evidence is strongly in favour of the supposition that the Gadeni belonged to the Damnonii rather than to the Brigantes. It is with the Damnonii of Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr that we find the Gadeni socially and politically incorporated, as soon as a union was formed to resist the Angles of Bernicia. If this be so, the probability is that these Gadeni were of Cornish extraction; for the name of the general tribe, Damnonii, is precisely that of the Britons who occupied Cornwall. This, taken in connection with the fact, now for the first time

definitely ascertained, that the original nomenclature of the district is Cornish, points strongly to this general conclusion.

There is still another fact which bears pertinently in the same direction. We have a list of the kings of the Gwyddyl Ffichti, the Caledonians or Picts, whom Mr Skene with great probability holds to be a Gaelic people. The names of the kings of the more northern Picts—those beyond The Mounth, or the great range of mountains which stretch from Ben Nevis across the island to the Eastern Sea—are decidedly of a Gaelic character. The names of the kings of the southern Picts, or those who held the country south of The Mounth to the Firth of Forth, and even to some extent south of it, as in part of Linlithgow, have a British admixture, and this is not Welsh but Cornish.[1] These superadded forms seem thus to have been acquired through intercourse with this Cornish tribe of Damnonii.

There are several forms of words which are written on the face of the country as if in the way of palimpsest. This has arisen from the succession and mingling of various races of people. Culter Fell is obviously a compound of Celtic and Scandinavian. *Cultir* is either Gaelic or Cornish; *Fell* is, of course, Norwegian. Mossfennan was of old Mosspennoc, and as *pen* means head or hill, and *cnoc* very much the same, the addition of *noc* is by a newcomer. *Moss* is probably Cymric *maes*, meadow. Gill's Burn is a mere reduplication of the same sort, unless *gill* be taken to mean simply ravine, apart from a stream flowing through it. Ven Law is obviously made

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. iv. 211.

up of a Saxon superscription upon a Cymric form, as, in ignorance of the meaning of the original word, the new-comer called it hill-hill. Venlaw occurs twice in Peeblesshire, near the town of Peebles, and on the estate Dawyck. Besides adding *law* to *ven*, the Saxons first of all changed the *pen* into *ven*, in accordance with the general passing of sharp into softer consonants in German, as shown in Grimm's law; *p* and *ph* going into *f* and *v*. We have a similar reduplication in Penhill and Penlaw in Dumfriesshire. In fact, this doubling of the name occurs every time the word water is added to Avon, Esk, or Dour.

In the twelfth century, when the Cymric people were being merged in the immigrant Angle and Anglo-Norman of England, and their names were being superseded, we have the old British form of word appearing for a moment, like a parting face, in the unfriendly charters of the period which transferred land and *nativi* to the new lords. Thus Penjacob, the original name of Edulf's town, now Eddleston, or perhaps of the district which contained it, turns up in an early charter alongside the modern name.[1] The lordship passed to the great family of De Moreville, for some generations High Constables of Scotland. In a still earlier charter of the twelfth century it appears as Gillemorestun, possibly enough a Saxon rendering of Moreville, with *gill*, ravine, prefixed. Richard de Moreville gave to Edulphus, the son of Utred, "Gillemorestun, quæ antiquitus vocabatur Peniacob." This was before 1189.[2] Edulphus, a younger son of an Earl of Northumberland, was buried in Jedburgh Abbey about

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, i. No. 173, between 1214-1249. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 45.

this period. May he have been the Edulph of Eddleston ?

As a rule, the Anglo-Saxon names are very realistic or matter of fact in their meaning, and they are not musical in sound. They are abrupt, and generally monosyllabic. We have Dun Law, Black Law, Whiteside Hill, Scawd Law, Onweather Hill, and Deid-for-Cauld Hill, and innumerable others of the same sort. These are all faithful to fact and superficial aspect, but they indicate no imaginative feeling about the objects named. Hawkshaw and Stanhope somewhat redeem the character of the Saxon names, and Windlestrae Law may pass for its literalness and suggestiveness of the brown and breezy bent.

The Cymri, who were in the district before the Teutons, must have had a singularly fine musical sense ; and although we are not able always to trace the inner significance of their names of hill and stream and glen, they appear to have had a purer, deeper feeling for the nature around them, more communion with it, more sympathy with it, alike in its softer and in its sterner aspects, than their successors had, or than for long appeared in Saxon or English literature. Perhaps they were, as has been supposed from the evidence of the fragments of poetry which have come down to us, more sensitive, emotional, and quick in perception than the somewhat slow and patient waiter on fact, the Anglo-Saxon. Possibly also, as I venture to suggest, their dwellings, perched on the tops of the hills, away from the wooded and marshy low grounds, made them familiar with wide prospects and the ever-moving aspects of earth

and sky, in storm and in sunshine. There are traces of this feeling in the Ossianic poems. Selma and Seláma are said to mean a place with a pleasant or wide prospect. "Darthula beheld thee from the top of her mossy tower: from the tower of Seláma, where her fathers dwelt." Gael and Cymri thus came to love the great hills, which to them were a dwelling, a refuge, and a defence. Stern nature was their daily companion and friend, might and mass of mountain their natural protection. Storm and mist came between them and Roman and Saxon foe. Even their burying-places were chosen on high spots:—

> "The grave of the three serene persons on an elevated hill,
> In the valley of Gwynn Gwynionawg,—
> Mor, and Meilyr, and Madawg." [1]

In death they wished to be laid where the spirit, as in life, would be gratified by the wide expanse of plain and hill, where it had felt the fullest consciousness of natural life, the perfect sense of what had been strongest in defence and grandest in the world around it. It was the same in the Lowlands of Scotland as in the windy headlands of the south of England. Molfra in Cornwall overlooks Mount's Bay; the cairn on Penmaenmaur looks out on the wide sea; and the strange weird stones of Kits Cotty House on the uplands of Kent command extensive views of the surrounding wold. This sympathy with the outlook into the infinity of the earth and heavens was shared in, if not by the Saxon, at least by the romantic and impassioned Scandinavian. For where the hill above Broadford in Skye overlooks the sea, there the princess of the Norsemen, ere she died, besought and

[1] *Verses of the Graves.*

obtained a sublime resting-place; and beneath her in the summer sun gleams the sea, and in winter storm it chafes and roars.[1] The hearts of these people came nearer to the soul of nature in its fulness and its power than any experience of man for many hundreds of years that followed their passing away from the earth. The Cymri had thus no name of fear for dark hill or stern glen. It was reserved for the dull Saxon, when he succeeded them, to speak of one of the grandest of our burns as the *Ugly* (*fearsome*) Grain. They gave us as names of hills and places most musical and loving words—words which, if read even in the order of locality, run in something like rhythmic cadence, as—

> Garlavin, Cardon, Cardrona, Caerlee,
> Penvenna, Penvalla, Trahenna, Traquair.

It was this musical sense, and the spirit that lay at the heart of it, which gave us in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, in Wales and in the kingdom of Strathclyde, the poems of Taliessin "the bright-browed," of Aneurin, of Myrdin or Merlin, and of Llywarch Hen—poems which embody a feeling for the nature around us, whether gentle or grand, as loving, as free, and as pure as has been reached even in our nineteenth-century literature, and characterised by what has been well called "the magic of nature," a charm quite peculiar to Celtic poetry.

[1] So Beowulf desired to be buried under "a mighty mound on the headland over the sea, towering aloft on Hrouesness."—*Deeds of Beowulf*, xxxviii.

CHAPTER V.

THE SEMI-HISTORIC PERIOD—ARTHUR AND THE ARTHURIAN LEGENDS.

In the summer of 78 A.D. Julius Agricola arrived in Britain. He found the northern boundary of the Roman province advanced to the Solway on the north-west, and the Firth of Forth on the north-east. Next year, 79 A.D., Agricola added to the province the Selgovæ of Dumfries and the Novantæ of Kirkcudbright and Wigton, tribes of the Brigantes. In 80 A.D. he crossed the watershed of the Clyde, entered the country of the Damnonii, pressed northwards, and somewhere beyond the Tay fought the battle of "Mons Grampius." It was now the Romans first came into contact with the new nation of the Caledonii, the large-limbed and red-haired race, whom they defeated but never subdued. They had the primitive habits which Cæsar found among the indigenous Brigantes; they were great stainers of their bodies with woad—the cerulean woad—and they fought in chariots. The "Caledonii," or "Caledonii Britanni," occupied a line of country that stretched from Loch Long to the Beauly Firth. We now meet with the local names of the

"Caledonia Sylva," the "Caledonius Oceanus," and the "Promontorium Caledoniæ." This race Mr Skene regards as Gaelic—as at first named Caledonii, then Caledonii and Meatæ, then Ducaledones and Vecturiones, and finally, the Picts, famous in Scottish history. They were an insuperable barrier to the advance of the Roman province to the north. At its best time its only secure boundary was the Northern Wall of Lollius Urbicus or Antonine, between the Forth and the Clyde. Within the Walls of Hadrian and Antonine the Romans were able to restrain the restless tribes of the northern Britons, and to consolidate them into a portion of the province of Valentia. Roman manners and culture seem to have made some way among the native tribes. There was intercourse with Rome, and there arose families claiming Roman descent. With the departure of the Romans from the north of the island in 410, after an occupation of nearly four hundred years, the course of British history was changed. For some time after the date of this event the Cymri of the Lowlands were not apparently united under one sovereign or head. They appear to have been divided into a series of independent principalities, ruled by *reguli*, or princelings, until Rydderch Hael, the Prince of Lanark, gained the sovereignty of the district in 573, and constituted the kingdom of Strathclyde.

But before the time of Rydderch Hael, and the consolidation of the Cymri into one kingdom that stretched from the Firth of Clyde to Carlisle and the Derwent, we have one or two most interesting and suggestive historical notices. These relate mainly to the work and exploits of the British Guledig, Arthur, and to the part which he

played in Cymric history during the first half of the sixth century. The whole question as to the historic reality of Arthur, and his connection with the Cymri of the north, is no doubt involved in great difficulty. But a careful examination of the available authorities may perhaps lead us to some solid ground of fact, and to some new light on this period of our history. The first point is the question as to the documentary sources for statements about Arthur and his actions in this early part of the sixth century. There seem to be at least three distinct sources, which are quite capable of vindication as, to a great extent, the genuine record of facts. There is, first, the series of Bardic remains, contained in what are known as the *Four Ancient Books of Wales;* there is, secondly, the *Historia* of Gildas; and thirdly, the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius. Mr W. F. Skene, in his admirable edition of those remains, gives an account of them which may be summed up as follows: The *Four Ancient Books of Wales* are from ancient MSS. —viz., *The Black Book of Caermarthen, The Book of Aneurin, The Book of Taliessin*, and *The Red Book of Hergest.* These MSS. lay in Welsh monasteries until the time of Henry VIII. They are partly historic, partly mythological and prophetic. The poems contained in them are attributed, by tradition, by MS. title, or by rubric, to four bards — Myrdin (or Merlin), Aneurin, Taliessin, and Llywarch Hen. These bards are supposed to have lived in the sixth century. If this be so, they must have been contemporary with the British Arthur, who died in 537. At the same time, it is very probable that their remains, as we now find them, were not re-

duced to shape until within the first sixty years of the seventh century. *The Black Book of Caermarthen* was written in the time of Henry II. (1154-1189). *The Book of Aneurin* is a MS. of the latter part of the thirteenth century. *Taliessin* is a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century. *The Red Book of Hergest* appears to belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[1]

There has been a question as to the authenticity of the Ossianic poems, on the ground of want of MSS., though I think the importance of this has been greatly exaggerated. But there can be no question that these Welsh poems were certainly reduced to writing many centuries ago. I cannot go into the question of the proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the poems. I think this has been fairly established, in regard at least to the greater number of them, especially the historical poems. But I may mention one thing which weighs greatly with me in their favour, and that is the circumstance that, though reduced to writing at a time when the romantic element had grown so completely around the British Arthur as to transfigure him into a mediæval Christian hero, there is no trace of this in these Welsh poems. On the contrary, he appears simply as the Guledig, as the deliverer of the northern Cymri from their Pictish and Anglian oppressors. He seems to be exactly that personage whom the exigencies of the time at which he is supposed to live would demand. Had Arthur been the creation of that twelfth century, he

[1] *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, by William F. Skene, 1868, Introduction, c. i., ii.

would certainly have been glorified as "the Flower of Chivalry and of Kings," and as that irrespectively altogether of epoch or locality.

Then there are the *Historia* and *Epistola* of Gildas. Gildas, born in 516, seems to have been a son of a princeling in the area of Strathclyde. He wrote his history, as we find from independent sources, in 560—that is, forty-four years after what is regarded as the last victorious battle of Arthur, that of Badon Hill (*Caer Badon*), in 516, and only twenty-three years after Camelon, where Arthur fell. Gildas died in 570.

Then, thirdly, there is the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius. The *Historia Britonum* seems to be fairly regarded as a work of the seventh or eighth century. The original was in Welsh; it was then translated into Latin. It refers chiefly to Northumbria, and terminates with the foundation of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria by Ida in 547. This *Historia Britonum* is obviously the original work of Nennius, or of the writer whom he succeeded and continued. The *Genealogia* of the Saxon kings was added in 738. In 838, Marc the Anchorite added the life of Germanus and the Legend of St Patrick. In 858 the whole bears the name of Nennius.[1]

The historic epoch of Arthur, if he be more than mythical, was doubtless the first half of the sixth century, and the notices of him in the works now referred to, point to him as living during that period. This was the critical period of the Cymric race in Britain, especially in Y Gogledd or the North. Picts, Scots, and Angles pressed upon the colony abandoned by Rome.

[1] See Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Introduction, c. ii.

Those tribes, at least the Picts and Angles, broke into the province from the north and east, and obtained a footing there. The Angles who assailed the province from the east are tolerably well known as to character and origin; for some time in Britain they had held the *Litus Saxonicum*, or Saxon shore. The Scots were of course the Gaels of Dalriada. The contraverted Picts came from the north of the Northern Wall, from the other side of what was known as the *Mare Frenessicum*, the Frisian Sea, afterwards named the Scots' Water, now the Firth of Forth. The Picts seemed to have obtained a hold of a strip of country along the shore of the Firth of Forth south of the wall. This extended southwards to the Pentlands (Pehtlands), and westwards as far probably as the Avon in Linlithgowshire. This district of the Picts was called Manau Gododin. From this they pressed onwards until they obtained some kind of settlement in the country to the east and south as far probably as the Tweed, and now divided into the counties of East Lothian, Berwick, and Roxburgh. This occupation, at least in a permanent form, does not seem to have taken place until the beginning of the sixth century; for we find that after Hengist arrived in Kent, in 449, he was followed by a body of Saxons, headed by his son Octa and his nephew Ebissa, or Eossa, as the Welsh called him. According to Nennius, Vortigern, the weak and indulgent king of the southern Cymri, allowed Hengist to send for this body that they might fight against the Scots of Dalriada, who had apparently overrun the province beyond the Northern Wall. The two Saxon adventurers were to be rewarded with the districts in the north, near

the wall which is called *Guaul*.[1] This band, Nennius tells us, had forty ships (*ciuli*). They sailed round the Picts, laid waste the Orkneys, and came and occupied several districts beyond the *Mare Frenessicum* up to the confines of the Picts.[2] If the *Mare Frenessicum* be, as is supposed, the Firth of Forth, the Picts are here represented as possessing the country to the north of it. Their real boundary at this time was, however, in all probability, the Firth of Forth. It is clear at any rate from this that the Angles under Octa and Eossa got possession of the country of the Cymri, at least along the east coast and the shores of the Firth as far as the southern boundary of the Picts. Now the Welsh traditions are at one in regarding Octa and Eossa as the opponents with whom the British Arthur carried on his campaign in this region of the Northern Wall.[3] These traditions, taken in connection with the narrative of Nennius, go far to settle the question, both as to the probable historic date of Arthur and the locality of his campaign or famous Twelve Battles.

Thus harassed and left to their own resources, there was a revival of public spirit among the Cymri. Driven, apparently, beyond the Tweed, they were anxious to regain the part of the country between the two walls which had been wrested from them. It seems to have been customary among them, in emergencies, to appoint

[1] *Historia Britonum*, 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, 38. "Regiones plurimas ultra Mare Frenessicumusque ad confinium Pictorum," ed. Stevenson. The phrase "ultra Mare Frenessicum" occurs only in one MS., the Harleian, and is probably an unwarranted addition to the original text.

[3] Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 52.

a head over all the clans of a province. It was likely, in this crisis of their fate, that they would nominate one common head over all the tribes. Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of Roman descent, had been their common leader, their Guledig or Pendragon. Guledig is the equivalent of Aurelianus, and is from *gulad*, country. Now this character of Guledig is exactly that under which the British chief, Arthur, is described in the earliest existing documents regarding him. Nennius calls him *Dux Bellorum*. He is described, too, as coming into notice immediately after the Guledig Ambrosius—as, in fact, taking up his function. Taliessin, in *The Chair of the Sovereign*, thus sings:—

> "From the loricated Legion
> Arose the Guledig,
> Around the old renowned boundary."[1]

For the details of Arthur's doings during this period, however slightly sketched, we are indebted to Nennius. He tells us that Arthur, the *Dux Bellorum* succeeding Ambrosius, fought twelve battles, the result of which was the freedom of the northern Cymri from their oppressors, for his lifetime at least thereafter, twenty-one years. "At that time," says Nennius, referring to the period after the arrival of Hengist, "the Saxons grew strong in numbers, and throve in Britain. Hengist, however, being dead, Octha, his son, passed over from the western part of Britain to the kingdom of the Cantii (Kent), and from him are sprung the kings of the Cantii. Then Arthur fought against them in those days with the kings of the Brittones, but he himself was leader of the fights (*dux*

[1] Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 261.

bellorum). The first battle was in the mouth of the river which is called Glein. The second, and third, and fourth, and fifth were on another river which is called Dubglas, and is in the region of Lennox (Linnuis). The sixth battle was on the river that is called Bassas. The seventh was in the Wood of Caledon (*in silva Caledonis*)—that is, Cat Coit Celidon. The eighth was a battle in the fort (*Castello*) Guinnion, in which Arthur bore upon his shoulders [1] the image of Saint Mary, perpetual Virgin, and the Pagans were put to flight on that day, and there was a great slaughter of them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Saint Mary, His virgin mother. The ninth battle was fought in the city of Legion (*in urbe Legionis*). He fought the tenth on the shore of the river which is called Tribruit. The eleventh took place on the hill which is called Agned. The twelfth was the battle on the hill of Badon (*in monte Badonis*), in which there fell to the ground in one day nine hundred and sixty men in one onset of Arthur, and no one overthrew them but himself alone, and in all the battles he stood forth victorious. And they, while they were defeated in all the battles, sought assistance from Germany, and were augmented manifold without ceasing; and they brought over kings from Germany, that these might reign over them in Britain, up to the time when Ida reigned, who was the son of Eobba. He himself was the first king in Beornicia—that is, in Berneich." [2] Ida, we know, began to reign in 547.

[1] Shoulder is probably a mistranslation of the original Welsh, which is *shield*.

[2] *Historia Britonum, Auctore Nennio*, s. 56.

Now the sites of these battles have been long a matter of controversy. Were they fought against the Saxons of the south, or against the Angles and Picts of the north?

It is clear, I think, that in deciding such a question as this, we must have regard not only to the similarity of modern names with the historical sites of the battles as given by Nennius, but, as the battles were fought in succession and in one region, also to the natural succession or local connection of places. These twelve battles represent a campaign, not a series of isolated struggles, and that district which can show the names in the order in which the campaign was likely to be carried out has all the probability in its favour.

No theory yet advanced of those localities can stand this crucial test, except that first substantially propounded by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1842, and since adopted, elaborated, and confirmed by the learning and sagacity of Mr W. F. Skene. The theory is that these localities are in the kingdom of the northern Cymri, now the Lowlands of Scotland, and that the struggles at the various places were with Picts or Angles, or with both combined.

The first of these battles is said by Nennius to be fought "in ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glein." Mr Skene thinks this Glen the river which rises in the hills that separate Ayr and Lanarkshire, and falls into the Irvine in the parish of Loudoun. Arthur was likely to march by the west, as Bernicia was held by the Angles; and he would naturally avoid meeting the enemy in their greatest strength until he had been able to attach to himself his own kindred as allies, and thus have some basis

of operations. Then the second, third, fourth, and fifth battles, said to have been fought "super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas [Douglas], et est in regione Linnuis [Lennox]," are referred by Mr Skene to the two streams of the name of Douglas that flow into Loch Lomond. We know that *Ben Arthur*, at the head of Loch Long, overlooks this very district between the two rivers.

The sixth battle was "super flumen quod vocatur Bassas." *Bass* means a mound formed near a river, as if artificial, but really natural. This affix Mr Skene thinks is indicated in *Dunipais*, where there are two such mounds, near the Carron, where the river Bonny joins it.

Of special interest to us at present is the reference of Nennius to this seventh battle. It was fought, he tells us, "in the Wood of Caledon," "in Silva Caledonis"; it is spoken of as the "Cat Coit Celidon," "the battle in the Wood of Caledon." This is the one battle of which Mr Skene has not attempted to fix the precise site; but there are some data which, without absolutely determining the point, may, I think, help us to a probable conclusion. Arthur's previous, or sixth, battle was on the Carron. Immediately thereafter he is found fighting a battle in the Wood of Caledon, the very centre of the oppressed Cymric population. Names and circumstances alike point to the south of Scotland and to Upper Tweeddale as the scene of this battle. The *Silva Caledonis*, and even the *Caledonii Britanni* of the Romans, in the first century, referred vaguely to a district and to tribes north of the Brigantes. The most northerly boundary of the Brigantes was the Firth of Forth. They occupied towards the west the lands along the shore of the Solway, including

Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton. But here they were bounded on the north by the wild range of mountainous country which runs, with little break, from the head of the Ettrick, and by the sources of the Yarrow, the Tweed, and the Clyde, and along the southern boundary of Ayr, well on to the Western Sea. It was only in his third campaign, in A.D. 80, that Julius Agricola penetrated through this mountain barrier into the *Silva Caledonis*, and encountered the new nations of the Damnonii, and others lying still farther north. And now, for the first time, these warlike tribes became distinctly known to the Romans. The phrase *Silva Caledonis*, or Caledonian Forest, has come popularly to be restricted to a district north of the Forth. But there is no historical warrant for this limitation. The Wood of Caledon, the *Nemus Caledonis* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the eleventh century included Upper Tweeddale; and Fordun, still later, uses it in exactly the same application. What was afterwards known as the Forest, or Ettrick Forest, was no doubt originally within the limits of the Wood of Caledon, as was also the Forest of Godeu or Cadzow. And Falkirk is spoken of as in the Forest in the thirteenth century.

From the scene of the sixth battle on the Carron, Arthur turned his march southwards to the Wood of Caledon. His aim was to strike a blow at the Angles of Bernicia, and avoiding the great stronghold of *Mynyd Agned* (Edinburgh), now held by them or their allies the Picts, he proceeded by the valley of the Tweed to reach their eastern boundary, which touched the river near Galashiels, and ran northwards, very much in the line of

the vale of the Gala. An old Roman road led him from the Carron to the opening of the Biggar Water, and thence he could pass readily through the district of the Cymri, for whom he was fighting, downwards to the Tweed. But here, in his way to the boundary of the Angles, he had to fight a battle. They had pressed westwards on the Cymri, and had obtained a footing in the district of the Gadeni. We have tracings of him on this march, though these are now almost forgotten. Just two miles below the traditional grave of Merlin, on the haugh of the Tweed, and exactly in the line of an ancient road that led from the Biggar valley down which I suppose that Arthur came, stood, until the beginning of this century, an almost perfect *cromlech*. It consisted of two or more upright stones, and one flat stone laid across as a roof, all of remarkable size; and just above it is the height of the Lour, a green conical hill, crowned with the remains of a very formidable prehistoric fort. That cromlech was universally known in the district up to a recent period as *Arthur's Table*. It was, unfortunately, destroyed at the beginning of this century, along with the old peel-tower near it of Easter Dawyck, the tower of Posso, and the ancient kirk of St Gordian, that took us back to Roman times. The factor on the estate was no less a personage than the father of Sir Walter Scott, who (the father, not the son) was apparently "a hater of old stones," and preferred immensely to see them utilised in dykes and cow-byres to finding them standing as symbols of antiquated historic memories.

This hill-fort of the Lour, of great size and strength, might possibly have been the scene of the seventh battle.

But there is another locality near at hand, in favour of which there is greater probability. That is the hill of Cademuir, on the opposite side of the valley of the Manor, a tributary of the Tweed. This hill is protected on the north by these two streams. To the south it was then guarded by a loch. Its southern sides are steep, sharp, and stony: it is just such a position as would be chosen by defenders for a crucial fight. Moreover, it now bears the name of Cademuir, which, originally *Cadmore*, means *the great battle*. The root of the word is Cymric, *cad* being Welsh for battle; while the Gaelic form is *cath*. And amid the ruined walls, the green mounds, and the shapeless raths on its summit, there arise, in a hollow round the hardest to take of the old forts, a series of weird, upright, pit-fast stones, with nothing on them but the grey scaurs of the years, yet silently telling us, in all likelihood, of the stricken dead below. In the valley at its foot is one of the largest of the single standing-stones of Tweeddale. The Cottonian and Harleian MSS. of Fordun say that the seventh battle of Arthur was "super Lincolum in silva Celidonis, quæ Britannice vocatur Caetcoit Celedon."[1] Lincoln never could be regarded as in the Wood of Caledon. But the Lyne in Tweeddale might be, and was in fact so regarded as late as the thirteenth century. The Romans had left a very strong station on the Lyne in Arthur's time, and this might possibly be occupied by the Angles. The Water of Lyne itself joins the Tweed very near the north side of Cadmore. The battle probably swayed between these two points. The strong camp on the

[1] *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, i. l. 3, p. 3, ed. 1871.

Lyne might have been first carried, and then the hill-forts of Cadmore. The natural and artificial difficulties of the position may well have led to a great and disastrous battle.

But this is not all. This site of the eighth battle, about the best ascertained of all, completely corresponds with the probable march of Arthur from Cadmore. It was in Castle Guinnion, "in Castello Guinnion"—*i.e.*, the *white* fort or camp, situated in the *Gwenystrad* or *White Strath*, but by the Saxons, from the disaster they met with there, called *Wedale*, or *Dale of Woe*. This district, lying between the waters of the Heriot and the Lugate, tributaries of the Gala, is barely a day's march from Cadmore, and to reach it Arthur had only to follow the ancient road across the Caersman, up Glentress, and by the Dewar Water, past what is now known as the Piper's Grave. Curiously enough, we have the legend that connects him with St Mary's Chapel, near Stow, where he placed for sacred keeping the relics of the cross brought by him from Palestine. This church was for many centuries a sanctuary to which blood-stained men might for the time repair. Arthur was thus all through tradition the Christian hero. With all these considerations in view, we are not, I venture to think, far from the site of this seventh Arthurian battle when on the *Cadmore*.

With regard to the remaining battles mentioned by Nennius, Mr Skene's view is that, having been victorious in those open field engagements against the enemy, Arthur next attacked their fortresses in turn. The ninth battle was fought "in urbe Leogis," or "Legionis." This has

been with probability identified as Dunbarton, or Alclyde, known in a later record of David II. (1367) as "Castrum Arthuri." The tenth battle is regarded as having taken place at Stirling, and the eleventh, said to have been "in monte qui dicitur Agned," as at *Mynyd Agned* (Painted Mount), or Edinburgh. This latter battle was fought against the *Cathbregyon*, not Saxons but Picts, who held the region of *Manau Gododin*. The twelfth battle was the "*obsessio montis Badonici*," or "in monte Badonis." The date of this was 516. Dr Guest has shown the utter untenableness of the theory that the *Mons Badonis* was Bath. The probability is in favour of Bouden Hill, not far from Linlithgow.

This was the crowning victory of the Arthurian campaign, and according to the *Bruts*, Arthur gave the district which he thus recovered from the Saxons to three brothers—Urien, Llew, and Arawn. Urien got *Reged*, or *Mureif*, a district beyond the Wall of Antonine. Llew got *Lodoneis*, or *Lothian*. As this was partly held by the Picts, Llew, or Lothus, was regarded as King of the Picts. His daughter, Theneu, was the mother, by supposed immaculate conception, of Kentigern or St Mungo, the great missionary apostle of Christianity in the wilds of Tweeddale and throughout the kingdom of Rydderch Hael, who subsequently ruled Llanerch, now Lanark, and Glasgow, with the adjacent districts. To Arawn, Arthur gave *Yscotlont*, or *Prydyn*, the most northern part of the conquered district, as far as Stirling.[1]

We know nothing of Arthur for twenty-one years after this last great battle of Badon Hill. But meanwhile

[1] See Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 58 *et seq.*

there is evidence of a growing insubordination to Arthur's rule, and a tendency to desertion from Christianity, of which Arthur is always represented as the champion. The Picts, Angles, and Scots had fused in both tendencies, and the result was a combination, under Modred, against the Cymric supremacy, which ended in the battle of Camlan or Camelon, possibly on the Carron, where the two opposing leaders fell, in 537. The Chronicle of 977 tells us that in 537 there was a "Gweith Camlan in qua Arthur et Medraut coruere"—*i.e.*, there was the battle of Camlan, in which both Arthur and Medraut (or Modred) perished.[1] Modred was the son of Llew, or Lothus, to whom Arthur gave Lothian. The dark shadow of Arthur's life arose from the supposition, embodied in the later romances, that Modred was not his nephew, but his son, by his own sister, the wife of Lothus. As Arthur, the father, fell by Modred's hand, we have a complete cycle of dramatic retribution.

Historically, the simple and natural passing away of the great British Guledig was, no doubt, his death at Camelon, striving against his nephew Modred, the head of a mixed Pagan party—Angle, Pict, and infidel Cymri —to keep entire the reconquest of twenty-one years before. But very soon the historical Arthur began to pass into the mythical. Even in the days of the Welsh bards his place of burial, like that of Moses of old, was wrapt in mystery. "A mystery to the world," says the old bard, "is the grave of Arthur." The baffled aspirations of the Cymric people, amid their later misfortunes, came to represent him as still living in an invisible sphere,

[1] Quoted by Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 59.

one of the spirits of that world around them, in which they profoundly believed. He was not dead; he had been merely transported to a mysterious home, again to return and lead the Cymri to victory and unity of kingdom. They knew even the place of his abode: he and his companions in battle reposed in the dreamy halls of the triple Eildons by the Tweed, waiting, in their armour sheen, the brave bugle-call which should restore them to earthly life, and quicken the withered hand anew to grasp the sword. But how stout a heart is needed to break the wizard spell which there holds Arthur and his knights!

> "Woe to the coward that ever he was born,
> Who did not draw the sword before he blew the horn."

For in that case he would be driven ignominiously back from the Eildon halls, amid the more than mortal rage of the guardian spirits of the place:—

> "Say who is he, with summons strong and high,
> Shall bid the charmèd sleep of ages fly;
> Roll the long sound through Eildon's caverns vast,
> While each dark warrior kindles at the blast;
> The horn, the falchion grasp with mighty hand,
> And peal proud Arthur's march from Fairyland." [1]

What does this myth teach us but that the bold heart of action is the true soul of speech? The traditional belief has not been groundless, and Leyden's question is not without its answer. If Arthur has not risen in the body, he has come in the spirit. In the *Idylls of the King* and in the *Holy Grail*, Arthur and his knights have awoke

[1] Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy*, Part II.

in our day to life and power at the trumpet-call of a great master of British song.

What I have now sketched is, I believe, the historical position of the original Arthur. It seems clear that, besides contending with Cerdic and the Saxons of Wessex, he fought on the plains of what are now the Lowlands of Scotland, leaving various unmistakable memorials of his actions, work, and life. As a general confirmation of this, it may be added that there is no portion of Great Britain so full, in the same space, of Arthurian names as that part of Scotland which stretches from the brown slopes of the Grampians to the blue line of the Cheviots. Mr Stuart Glennie has noted in it 139 places named from Arthur or his associates, or connected with his story by tradition and legend.[1] And there are several more to be added to Mr Glennie's list. But the strength of the argument from the existence of these names does not, as appears to me, rest wholly on their number; it rests chiefly even on the fact that all other memory of Arthur and his associates, except what lies in those names and traditions, has died out of the Lowlands of Scotland ages ago. Other events and personages of Scottish history have come in to fill their places and to occupy the popular mind. We have, moreover, no popular songs or ballads commemorating the Arthurian exploits, from which, in the period of Scottish history proper, these Arthurian names might have been borrowed, and this for the reason that a new race, with a new language, had come to occupy the country. We are thus led to the conclusion that these designations have come

[1] *Arthurian Localities*, 125.

down to us from a time and people that are almost prehistoric. If this be so, an entirely new and fresh interest is thrown over the vales of the Clyde and the Tweed, indeed over the Lowlands of Scotland; for these haughs and hills were once the scene of struggles as patriotic, as heroic, as memorable as those of the Scottish War of Independence, long before the present kingdom of Scotland had a being or a name. The ancient Briton in his wild-beast skin, and eyeing his foe from his fort and wattled rath on the windy hill, loved the wooded land so well that he fought for it with a sublime tenacity—a tenacity as remarkable as that which his Anglo-Saxon successor has shown under Bruce and the Stewarts down to our own times.

This view is further confirmed by a study of the old Welsh poems. The authors of these poems seem to have been intimately connected with the Cymric kingdom of Strathclyde and the north. Taliessin, "the bright-browed," was bard of Urien and Owen, British princes of Reged, after the time of Arthur. Llywarch Hen was the son of Elidir, chief of Argoed. Reged and Argoed were divisions of Strathclyde. Aneurin was a native of Alclyde, now Dumbarton. And Merlin was, as we shall see, closely connected with Tweeddale. These early poems themselves contain numerous references to persons, to localities, and to incidents. In the main they are corroborated by the Latin historians. Arthur is there as Guledig. He is spoken of gratefully as "Arthur the blessed." He is represented as guarding the wall, the southern defence of the Cymri, against Pict and Angle:—

"His assault over the wall,
And his appropriate chair
Amongst the retinue of the wall." [1]

The most of the knights or companions whose names hundreds of years afterwards were spread over Europe in the mediæval romances—Anglo-Norman, French, and Latin—are to be found there. They are fighting in the north of the Cymric kingdom, in what are now the Lowlands of Scotland, to recover the territory of their kindred Cymri from overriding Pict and Anglo-Saxon. Many of the places mentioned in the poems and historians can be traced in the names now existing; the legends and traditions connected with several of them are such as might be the germs of the mediæval romances. Kay and Bedivere are there—

"Arthur and the fair Cai."

"And rejoiced
Cai as long as he hewed down."

"In Mynyd Eiddyn [2]
He contended with Cynvyn;
By the hundred there they fell,
There they fell by the hundred,
Before the accomplished Bedwyr."

We have

"Mabon the son of Mydron,
The servant of Uther Pendragon."

"Did not Manawyd bring
Perforated shields from Trywruid?" [3]

"And Mabon, the son of Mellt,
Spotted the pass with blood." [4]

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[1] *The Chair of the Sovereiyn, Book of Taliessin*, xv., Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 259.

[2] Now Edinburgh.

[3] The Forth.

[4] *Black Book of Caermarthen*, xxi., Skene, i. 262. Mabon is apparently in the very ancient Lochmaben.

There is Geraint—

"Under the thigh of Geraint were swift racers,
Long-legged, with the span of the stag,
With a nose like that of a consuming fire on a wild mountain."[1]

The reference here is to the sweeping power of the muir-burn in spring. There is Llew or Lothus, there is the traitorous Modred, there is Merlinus Sylvestris or Merlinus Caledonius, and his sister Gwendydd or Ganieda (the Dawn), and Chwifleian or Vivian, his lady-love and conqueror. There is, finally, the Eildons, near the border of the Cymric kingdom, where the hope of the Cymri slept in the forms of Arthur and his quiescent yet immortal knights.

If this position be regarded as substantiated, or even if the proof be held as simply showing that the earliest mythical representations of Arthur had a foundation of fact in what is now called the south of Scotland, there clearly opens up to us an entirely new line of interest in connection with the Lowlands of our country. This district thus connects us with the greatest theme of mediæval imagination and modern romance. For there is no single name in European literature, since the fall of the Roman empire down to our own time, with which are associated more poetic feeling and imaginings than that of Arthur, the British chief; there is none which has more frequently quickened ideal thought and longings in the finest minds in the long line of English and Continental poets and romancers.

From the sixth to the twelfth century the cycle of the Arthurian legends was gradually formed, by succes-

[1] *Book of Caermarthen*, xxii., Skene, i. 268.

sive contributions from various sources, and by the fusion of old and new feelings, beliefs, and manners. On the opposite continent, in Armorica (*ar*, on or near; *mor*, the sea), which originally comprehended the district between the Seine on the north and the Loire on the south, but in the middle ages was limited to Bretagne (Brittany), the name of Arthur was regarded with a peculiar fondness and reverence. Originally, probably, the Cymric tribes of that region and of Great Britain were one. The Armorican dialect had become somewhat different from that of Cornwall and Wales, still the Armorican and Cornish were more closely connected than the Welsh and Cornish; and doubtless there remained the old feeling of kinship and brotherhood. This was greatly intensified by the circumstance that the Britons of our land sought and found in successive generations, both before and after the fatal year of 685, when the Saxon supremacy became undoubted, a refuge among their kinsmen in the isle of Brittany. They carried with them the memories of their fatherland, and deepest among these was the image, real or mythic, or both, of the great British champion, Arthur, the *Guledig* of the race, the *Dux Bellorum* of the Cymri. For hundreds of years in Bretagne the name and fame of Arthur resounded in the popular songs of the country. They were harped in the halls of the nobles by their native minstrels. They were listened to with delight by the Merovingian kings at the Court of the rising monarchy of France, where the notes of the "Chrotta Britanna" were heard alongside the harp of the barbarian and the Greek Achilliac—

"Plaudat tibi barbarus harpa,
Græcus Achilliaca; chrotta Britanna canat."[1]

The "fabulosi Britones" had already established their repute in the most cultured Court of Europe, and competed on equal terms with *trouvère* and *troubadour*. Even now Arthur's name is attached to places through the district, and on the oldest churches of Bretagne we find him figured, with sword and crown, in the act of triumphing over the beasts of the wild as the mythological hero.[2] The far-away Arthur, growing distant in time, became to the inhabitants of Bretagne the hero that had fought and fallen, in the struggling dawn of their history, in what was now to them their mother country—the hero of fond memories, of traditional aspirations, the impersonation of all that was best and noblest in their golden age. And thus it was that, some five hundred years after the death of the historical Arthur, an archdeacon of Oxford brought back, if we may credit tradition and Geoffrey of Monmouth, from Brittany an Armoric book—"*quemdam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum*"[3]—which professed to trace the history of the Britons from their first king, Brutus, to Cadwalader.

This archdeacon, Walter Calenius, not Mapes, as is sometimes supposed, was in Armorica about 1125. There he found, or is supposed to have found, the *Brut y Brenhynned*, or *The Legend of the Kings*. Its authorship was attributed to Tysilio, though this is doubtful. Calenius being a Welshman, translated the Armorican epic into his native

[1] Fortunatus, l. vii. 170. (Quoted by Hersart de la Villemarqué, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, 168.)

[2] *Ibid.*, 23.

[3] *Historia Regum Britanniæ*, edition by Giles, 1.

tongue.[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth translated the Welsh into Latin, under the title of *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*, about 1138. Through the patronage of Robert of Gloucester, a descendant by the mother's side of the ancient British kings, this Latin version rapidly spread over Europe. In 1155 there appeared *Le Roman du Brut d'Angleterre*, by Robert Wace, afterwards Canon of Bayeux. This is in French verse, and is mainly a translation from the Latin of Geoffrey. These books were, however, the source of a new intellectual life in Europe. They formed the basis of the whole mediæval romances regarding the British Arthur.

Arthur, and the traditions connected with him, were naturally the theme of the earliest Welsh or Cambrian literature. He appears especially in the *Triads of Arthur* of Caradoc of Llancarvan, collected before 1150. The *Mabinogion* of the fourteenth century, lately translated into English by Lady Charlotte Guest, represents the Arthurian legends as they had been developed in Wales up to that period. In the twelfth century the Arthurian legends excited the imaginative interest of Germany; and we have the *Parzwal* of Wolfram of Eschenbach, *Tristan and Isolt* of Gottfried of Strasburg, *Erec and Iwein* of Hartmann, the *Wigalois* of Wirnt. In Italian literature, says Villemarqué, "Dante owes to those legends his charming story of *Paolo* and *Francesca de Rimini*, a memory of Lancelot and Guinevere made living by genius. Ariosto borrows from them the history of *Merlin* and *Vivian*. Tasso has found in the forest of Broceliande the germ of that of Armidas." [2]

[1] On this point see Villemarqué, *La Table Ronde*, 25 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 174.

Ever since the twelfth century, and amid all the new elements in poetry—the picturing of social life and manners, the direct feeling and description of nature introduced by Chaucer, the symbolism of the impassioned imagination—we may observe the influence on the poetry of England of the cycle of the Arthurian legends. Chaucer himself felt their power. Lord Sackville's *Ferrex and Porrex*, Shakespeare's *King Lear*, the *Polyolbion* of Drayton, show marks of the same inspiration. It was the early and long-cherished design of Milton to make the Arthurian period the subject of an epic. He was haunted and stirred by

> "What resounds
> In fable or romance of Uther's son,
> Begirt with British or Armoric knights."

And in the lines to Mansus he says:—

> "Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmine reges,
> Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem!
> Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere Mensæ
> Magnanimos Heroas, et, O modo spiritus adsit,
> Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub marte phalanges!" [1]

Spenser is throughout instinct with the spirit of the Arthurian Romances; and the same ideal haunted the imagination of Dryden:—

> "Dryden in immortal strain
> Had raised the Table Round again,
> But that a ribald King and Court
> Bade him toil on to make them sport,
> Demanded for their niggard pay,
> Fit for their souls, a looser lay,
> Licentious satire, song and play;
> The world defrauded of the high design,
> Profaned the God-given strength and marred the lofty line."

[1] Works, ed. Todd, vi. 357.

And we well know the influence of those legends in our own day on Southey, Scott, and Tennyson.

Sir Thomas Malory's famous collection of the legends, printed by Caxton in 1485, and compiled from scattered French sources, or simply translated from a French compend, is the source whence Tennyson has chiefly drawn in his *Idylls of the King*. We may add the *Tristram* and *Iseult* of Matthew Arnold, Morris's *Defence of Guenevere*, Edgar Quinet's *Merlin*, and Richard Wagner's *Lochengrin* and *Tristan et Iseult*.

An immortality of memory has thus followed the British Guledig. He has been, as it were, a permanent personality all through the ages, pre-mediæval and mediæval as well, to which the better aspirations of the times successively turned, and which in each epoch was made to reflect the varying forms of its ideal. At first, historically, the champion of the race and liberties of the ancient Britons, he became, mythologically, the lord of the powers of nature and of universal battle, in order to soothe superstitious fears; then, in the twelfth century, he was idealised as the Christian leader and the flower of knighthood to inspire the Crusaders. All through this mythical idealisation, however, we can see a noble moral element. While he is the highest ideal of excellence which personal prowess and personal qualities can reach, the soul of the social order of the time, continually warring against some form of evil, he is not himself stainless. He is even "the embodiment of the evil conscience of the time," in the picture of social and domestic disorder flowing from his wife's sin and his own far deeper and darker guilt; and yet he constantly typifies the unquestioned supremacy

of personal quality, the nobility of knighthood founded on personal achievements, and, above all, a faith in a coming readjustment of things in accordance with the principles of a righteous moral order. The Vale of Avalon, or the halls of the Eildons, hold one who does not and cannot die, and who will come again to earth, because he represents a belief in the ultimate power of the right, which is immortal in the heart of man.

"Hic jacet Arthurus rex quondam rexque futurus."

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE LOWLANDS OF SCOTLAND—THE KINGDOMS OF STRATHCLYDE AND NORTHUMBRIA.

THERE is great obscurity as to the course of events in Britain, and not less in that part of it which lies between the Dee and the Humber on the south, and the Firths of Forth and Clyde on the north, during the 137 years which elapsed between A.D. 410 and the year 547. But we have three salient facts which stand clearly out amid a mass of doubtful details. The one is, that up to the former period, the date of the Roman abandonment of Britain, this district from Dee and Humber to Forth and Clyde was still occupied by Cymri or Britons as indigenous inhabitants, partly Romanised in habits and education. The second fact is, that even before 410, as early as 360, this district was assailed fiercely by hostile tribes called Picts and Scots, who overcame the native Britons for a time, but who were driven back through Roman aid under Theodosius in 368. The third fact is, that after A.D. 383 there is a devastation by Scots and Picts of the same district. This irruption from the north is again repelled by Roman aid, and

the Northern or Antonine Wall is reconstructed. The Saxons now appear, according to Claudian, as allies of the Scots and Picts. There is then another devastation by Picts and Scots, and this attack is once more repelled and the Southern or Hadrian's Wall is repaired. But, finally, the irrepressible Picts and Scots again appear on the scene. The Romans refuse now to aid the Cymri or Britons, being themselves hard pressed nearer the centre of the empire. The Cymri appeal to the Saxons, who, either by themselves or in union with the Picts, contrive to possess themselves of a large part of the Cymric country on the east of the island, to the north and south of the Southern Wall. These Saxons, called Angles, form the kingdom of Bryneich or Bernicia, and this in 547 is constituted into a sort of regular kingdom or realm—region ruled—under Ida, King of Northumbria.

Before the time of Ida, certain Saxons under Octa and Ebissa had established themselves in the district immediately south of the Forth. They, as seems probable, had to contend with the Picts or northern Caledonians. The latter appear to have subjugated the Britons or original inhabitants along part of the southern shore of the Firth, and to have obtained a hold of the portion of what is now Edinburgh and Linlithgow, bordering on the Forth, between the Carron and the Pentland or Pechtland Hills. This formed the kingdom of the Brithwyr, or speckled people, and was called Manau Gododin. The Frisians under Octa and Ebissa got possession of this territory, and hence the early name given to the Firth of Forth, the *Mare Frenessicum*, or *Frisian Sea*. Arthur the Guledig fought in the interest of the Cymri against both Saxon

and Pict in this district. The Cymri seem indeed in his time, and even later, to have still retained a portion of this territory, known as *Catraeth*, and stretching from the east bank of the Carron to Caer Eiddyn (now Carriden), at the termination of the wall. At the time of Arthur's twelve battles it seems probable that the Picts had again risen to supremacy in Manau Gododin, and after his death, in 537, had extended their sway over the eastern portion of the country, afterwards held by the Angles, and now represented by the counties of East Lothian, Berwick, and Roxburgh. The Pictish power in this district came, as has been said, to an end after a struggle with the Angles; and Ida, in 547, became the first king of the district, now known as Bernicia, or Northumbria, and stretching south of the Tweed to the Tees. But there can be little doubt that even after this the Picts formed a large and distinctive element in the population of Bernicia, at least in the part of it north of the Tweed, so much so that this district was spoken of as Pict and Angle.[1] And the Picts were long predominant in numbers in Manau Gododin after they had been subjugated by the Angles.

That the Picts were a Celtic race, and of the Gaelic type, Goidelic as opposed to Brythonic, may be admitted. Further, that they were a mixed race seems to be ethnologically proved. There was among them a long-skulled race, dolicho-cephalic, they name it, dark-featured, probably short in stature; but they are usually

[1] Mr Skene regards Dunbar, originally *Dyunbaer*, as Pictish. And of course we have the original *Peanfahel*, head of the wall, which in Cymric is *Penguaul*, and in Angle *Penneltun*.

described as red-haired and tall, and this portion of the tribe seems to have been marked by a round skull; they were brachio-cephalic. The question arises, To what race did this long-skulled class belong? Was it originally Aryan or non-Aryan? If non-Aryan, was it Iberian, Etruskarian, or what? Or was it simply an intrusion of the Brythonic race upon the earlier Goidelic race? Or, as Professor Rhys names them, was it an intermixture of the P group of Celts with the Q group? For we find as typically distinctive that the older or Goidelic race who came into Britain used *qu*, as in *maqu*, genitive of *mac*, and that the later race of the same stock, called Brythonic, changed *qu* into *p*, and said *map* for *maqu*. The Q people are supposed to have first got hold of Britain, the P people to have followed them at, we may suppose, a considerable interval, and so far displaced them, and it may be to some extent and in some localities intermixed with them. Professor Rhys seems to incline to the view, on linguistic grounds, that the added elements in the Goidelic or Picts in this island, was non-Aryan. What Mr Skene says of an element of Brythonic or Cymric in the British language would perhaps suggest that he would regard the alien element as Brythonic or Cymric—that is, still Aryan.

Professor Rhys seems to maintain that the original Gaelic, Goidelic, or Q-using group had met with some new element or clan of people in their location about the Central Alps, who had led them to change the *qu* into *p*, and to thin the *īv* into *ī*; and that after this they carried the peculiarities into the lands to which they passed and colonised—viz., parts of Gaul, Italy,

Greece, Asia Minor, and the British Isles. He also holds that in Britain they displaced and drove to the west the Q-speaking or older groups. But if this peculiarity of the P speech be found among the Picts, and if the Picts were originally a Q-using group, it would seem to follow that the introduction of the peculiarity arose from the intrusion of the Brythonic or P-speaking people into Pictland. We could hardly suppose a double origin for the change of Q into P—viz., one going on among the Brythons in the Central Alps, and one going on in Pictland in the British Isles. In fact, Professor Rhys seeks expressly to exclude the idea of more than one origin of the change from Q into P, and holds it to have taken place before the Brythons migrated from their central home. From this it would seem to follow that, assuming the Picts to have participated in the change, they were either Brythons, that is, not of the Gaelic or Goidelic type at all, or that they suffered a strong intermixture from the Brythons, whence they derived this fundamental change on their original Goidelic speech.

The ethnological argument would clearly not avail in favour of the view of Professor Rhys, if it be true, as he suggests, that the Brythons belonged in the main to the type of round-skulled men, for this would account for the physiological discrepancy. But the linguistic argument is on a different basis. All that can be said meanwhile is, that the evidence for the non-Aryan element is far from complete.[1]

Colonel Robertson's view on this subject is, that the

[1] For the views of Professor Rhys, see *Scottish Review*, No. xxx., April 1890, and No. xxxi., July 1890.

extensive sphere of Gaelic in Scotland, especially place and river names, is only to be accounted for by the fact that the Caledonians or Picts were a Gaelic-speaking people—that their language was essentially the same as that of the Highlanders at the present day. He denies that the outspread of Gaelic over Scotland was from the Scots of Dalriada, holding them to be an insignificant sept, continually at war among themselves, and having little influence over the language of other parts of Scotland. Up to the sixth century they were mere predatory bands,—truly the "Scoti vagantes" of Ammianus Marcellinus. The Caledonians or Picts, that is, Gauls, were first in the island; the Cymri followed them. But the names of places and rivers, implying as they do reference to pagan deities, such as Annat and Chè, were given long before the earliest Roman invasion and the introduction of Christianity. These could not be given during the Roman period, nor could they have been imposed subsequently to it. Colonel Robertson brings forward a great deal of evidence on this point. Professor Rhys, on the other hand, holds the Picts to have been non-Aryan. It is difficult to maintain this in face of the evidence adduced by Mr Skene. The truth may perhaps be found to lie in this, that the Picts, while originally Gaelic, incorporated with their speech something of the language of the people who occupied Scotland before them, that these were probably Basque or Iberian, and that the Brythons coming after them and interfusing with them, gave a Cymric or Brythonic tinge to the mixed Gaelic speech.

Before and up to the time of Ida there can be no

doubt that the area of what was afterwards named Alclyde, or Strathclyde, and then latterly Cumbria, was occupied simply by separate British tribes of a common race, each having a certain sort of independency, and combining only in the case of aggression against a common foe, under an elected head—a *Guledig* or *Dux Bellorum*. Those tribes are known as Ottadeni, to the east by the sea, whose territory had in the main come to form part of Ida's kingdom; the Gadeni, to the west, up the Tweed. The fierce Attacotti were probably among the mountains at the upper waters of the Tweed and the Clyde. They may mean either dwellers in the wood or the old inhabitants. The Damnonii were to the northwest, the Selgovæ and Novantæ in the south and southwest. These tribes, after the fatal division of the line of the Cymri by the wedge driven into them at Chester in 607, were known to their own kindred in Wales as the "Gwyr y Gogledd," or Men of the North. And this phrase "Y Gogledd" is the proper expression for the whole district north of the Dee before the kingdom of Strathclyde or Alclyde was formed in 573. Very soon, indeed, after the battle of Chester the Angles of Northumbria occupied the district between the Dee and the Derwent. And the Cymri were gradually confined within the line of the region stretching from the Derwent beyond the Cheviots to the Firth of Clyde, the vale of the Leven, and the head of Loch Lomond.

We can even trace the general lineage and give the names of some of those independent princelings, the one great dynasty being descended from Coel Hen, and the other from Macsen Guledig. The former may on the

whole be taken as representing a native British race; the latter as more or less Romanised.[1]

The curious and touching thing is that we have so slight, almost imperceptible, traces of those old names—princelings, warriors, human-hearted men and women of those many hundred years. We may make something of Coel, the founder of the old Cymric dynasty. We may suppose he is represented in Kyle, and the King Coyl of the song. Gwenddoleu is perhaps kept in memory by Carwhinelow, near the Mote of Liddel, and Arthuret. Clyddno Eiddyn may be at the root of Car-edin—Carriden, the corner of territory near the east end of the wall. Catrawyd Calchvynyd may have had his principality in Calchvynyd—that is, Kelso. Tutgual Tutclud certainly represents the district of the Cluyd or Clyde. Caw is supposed to have ruled in Renfrewshire, but he may have been the Cu of Coo Castle by the Nisbet Burn, near the March Brae, between Peeblesshire and Lanarkshire. But what of Elidyr Mwynvaur? or Urien and Morcant? Is Rydderch Hael represented in Linton-Rodderych? Eliver Gosgorddvaur—Eliver of the grand retinue—may have left his name in Oliver Castle, one of the oldest homesteads in Tweeddale. Gwallawg is possibly to be associated with Galloway. Morcant may have some connection with Caercant up in the Heriot Water. Curiously enough, Cair-cent was the British name of Canterbury.

To write the history of Strathclyde in any ordinary sense of the word is nearly impossible. There are no proper contemporary documents, only incidental his-

[1] See Skene, *Four Books*, i. 170.

torical references, and it is difficult to set the facts in consecutive order. Yet this kingdom or independency, this realm, stands stubbornly out through the early centuries as a reality, what Carlyle would call a *fact*. But almost the only light we can get on this fact comes from its surroundings. The kingdom of Northumbria was adjacent to it on the east, while Scots bounded it on the north-west and Picts on the north. The district of Galloway, or the Galwegienses—Pictish mainly—lay on the south-west of it. This recordless kingdom of Strathclyde gets the fullest light it has to our eyes, or ever will have, from broken notices of its being struck at by Northumbria, and its striking back, sometimes ineffectually, at other times forcibly. Again, there are Pictish raids upon it from the north, and there are alliances and some contests with the Scots, and intermarriages with the royal house of the latter. The boundary-line of Strathclyde—properly, then, Y Gogledd—taking this name for the Cymric territory to the north, left intact after the battle of Chester, was gradually pushed westward by the Angles of Northumbria, further than it had been by Ida in the former century. But the Cymri still held by the natural defences of the country, especially to the north of the Solway, keeping the heights of the upper waters of the Teviot, the Ettrick, the Yarrow, and the Tweed. There now you may see their rounded forts or dwellings on the lower hills of those rivers, the mounded ditches—circular and oval—within which they dwelt, the "rings," with possibilities of life so bare, that one wonders how their hearts were so strong and so unsubduable,—how, in a word, they survived through those

four or more centuries, until they disappeared as a distinctive race, partly by emigration, and partly by fusion in the general current of Scottish nationality. Now we can trace little of them save their dwellings and the names they imposed, often so graceful and musical, on the hills and streams which they haunted and loved.

With the establishment of the Angle kingdom of Bernicia under Ida in 547, there commences a more definite course of history, though not very clear, from which we really learn something of how the Lowlands of Scotland, and Scotland itself, have come to be what they are.[1] Ida's kingdom of Bernicia, originally Bryneich, stretched from the Tees on the south to the Firth of Forth on the north. It included the counties of Durham, Northumberland, part of Roxburgh, Berwick, Haddington, and part of Edinburgh. Westwards, it seems to have stretched up the Tweed to a point east of the junction of the Teviot, and then to have run along the east bank of the Tweed to a point beyond the junction of the Gala, taking in the valley of this stream. The line of boundary on the west came probably, in the course of subsequent struggles with the Britons, to be

[1] For the main facts and dates connected with the kingdoms of Northumbria and Strathclyde after this period, I am indebted to Mr W. F. Skene. I cheerfully acknowledge my obligations to one who by remarkable industry, rare acuteness, and careful induction has done so much to throw light on the early history of his country. I do not hesitate to say that what Niebuhr did for the history of Rome, Skene has done for the history of Scotland. See especially *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. c. x., and *Celtic Scotland*, passim.—(Note to first edition.) This chapter has been almost wholly rewritten; yet I still acknowledge my debt in many parts of it to Mr Skene—now, alas! with all his wealth of learning and his fine personal character, passed away, leaving a stimulating ideal of high ability and achievement.

pushed further in that direction—up the valleys of the Teviot, the Ettrick, the Yarrow, and the Tweed—until it reached the Catrail.

This, at least, is clear, that the original *parochia* or bishopric of Kentigern in the sixth century was co-extensive with the Strathclyde of the time, and that it stretched from Alclyde to the Derwent. The diocese of Glasgow latterly included the five rural deaneries of Glasgow proper—viz., Rutherglen, Lennox, Lanark, Kyle and Cunningham, and Carrick. Besides these, it embraced the four deaneries of the archdeaconry of Teviotdale—viz., Teviotdale, Peebles, Nithsdale, and Annandale. This was probably the arrangement after "the land of Carlisle" had been erected into a bishopric in 1132. This entirely overthrows Mr Freeman's view as to the extent of territory to the west gained by different Angle kings; and it shows how misleading is his map in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under *England*. The Derwent divides the diocese of Chester from that of Carlisle; and the original Cymric state included the area embraced in the two dioceses of Glasgow and Carlisle. Churches dedicated to Kentigern are found to commence on the north side of the Derwent.[1]

The country south of the Tees to the Humber, that is now included in Yorkshire, was occupied by a people identical in race with the Angles and Frisians of Bernicia. This district was called Deira, originally Deifr; and the two districts of Deira and Bernicia were called Nordhymbraland, or the land north of the Humber. They were united into one kingdom under Ella about

[1] Cf. Skene, *Four Books*, i. 165.

559. But whether Bernicia or Deira formed one kingdom or two usually depended on the varying fortune of war. The capital of Bernicia was Bebbanburh, now Bamborough, so called after Bebba, wife of Aethelfrith or Ethelfred, King of Bernicia. The capital of Deira was York.

The Angles of Bernicia formed the aggressive element in the country. For four hundred years there was nearly constant war between them and the Cymri to the west. Bernicia was held by the four sons of Ida in succession. One of these, Hussa, was King of Bernicia in 567. With him contended four kings of the Britons—viz., Urbgen (or Urien), Riderchen, Guallauc, and Morcant. They probably represented a confederation of the Cymric principalities, which were still independent. Riderchen, or Rhydderch Hael—that is, the Liberal—was of Roman descent. Another line of princes of the Cymri was of native origin. This was represented by Gwenddoleu, descended from Coil Hen, or the aged. Rhydderch Hael and his family came under the influence of the Christianity of the Columban Church. Gwenddoleu and the native line remained outside of this influence, and were at the head of the paganism and Bardism of the time. The principalities scattered over the Tweed and the Clyde thus came to be divided into two parties, the one holding by the old Druidic or Nature worship, and the other by the new faith. The matter of supremacy must come to the arbitrament of the sword; and come it did with fatal and final issue in the great battle of Arderydd, fought in 573 between the Liddel and the burn of Carwhinelow, about nine miles north of Carlisle. The

field of battle is obviously the space of ground between the great strength of Liddel and the ravine through which flows the burn of Carwhinelow (Caerwenddoleu). The fort now called the Mote of Liddel is one of the most imposing of all the ancient remains of the district. It might well have been the centre of a great national battle. But if so, it was much earlier than the date of any Saxon or Angle construction. The leader of the Christian party, Rydderch Hael, the prince, apparently, of Lanark, was assisted by Aidan, afterwards king of the Scots of Dalriada, and by Maelgwn Gwynedd. Gwenddoleu led the Pagan and opposing confederacy. The battle was long, and the number of the dead was fabulously great. No doubt it was a crucial fight, to be paralleled only by subsequent national contests. The memory of that day's struggle by the Liddel, between brother Cymri, saddened Cymric song for many generations. The result of it, however, was the death of Gwenddoleu, the triumph of the Christian Cymri, and the establishment of one Cymric kingdom under Rydderch Hael, to be known afterwards for many centuries as Strathclyde, and its inhabitants as the Strat-Clud Wealas, or Walenses, with Alclud, or Dunbreaton, as its capital. *Al-cluith* or *Ail-cluith* is the British form of the name,—meaning the rock of Clyde,—Petra Cloithe (Welsh *ail*, a rock). The Gaels called it *Dunbreaton*, or fort of the Britons. This kingdom of Alclyde stretched from Alclyde up through the valley of the Clyde, across the watershed, down the Tweed to the south-east boundary of Peeblesshire, and beyond that southwards to Carlisle, and westwards to the Derwent. "It comprehended Cumberland and Westmoreland, with

the exception of the baronies of Allerdale or Copeland in the former, and Kendal in the latter, and the counties of Dumfries, Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, and Peebles in Scotland. On the east the great Forest of Ettrick separated it from the Angles, and here the ancient rampart of the Catrail, which runs from the south-east corner of Peeblesshire, near Galashiels, through the county of Selkirk to the Peel Hill on the south side of Liddesdale, marked the boundary between them.[1] Besides Alclyde, it had as towns Penrynwleth, on the Clyde; Caer-Clud; Llanerch, the glade or church in the wood; Peblis, or the shielings; Kelso (Calchvynyd); and Caer Luel (Carlisle), all names of British origin, and thus indicating very ancient towns. Mr Skene identifies Penryn Wleth with the Dowhill of Glasgow—*Gwleth* in combination, *Wleth*, dew,—hence the Dew or Dowhill. Joscelin describes Kentigern as sitting on a stone on the top of Gwleth. Caer-Clud is Glasgow:—

> "From Penryn Wleth to Loch Reon,
> The Cymri are of one mind, bold heroes."[2]

With the exception of Galloway on the south, inhabited by the Piethwyr or Pictmen, with whom a Gaelic race was afterwards intermingled, and Bryneich or Bernicia, the northern part of the Angle kingdom of Northumberland on the east coast, the whole of the country from Loch Lomond and the Lennox, to the Derwent in Cumberland, was embraced by the British kingdom of Strathclyde. North-west of the Firth of Clyde, in

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 235, 236. For a fuller and more accurate description of the line of the Catrail, see below, 183 *et seq.*

[2] *Taliessin*, xiv., Skene, *Four Books*, i. 276.

Argyll, lay the Scots' kingdom of Dalriada, over which Aidan, the friend of Rydderch Hael, had just been consecrated king by Columba. The Picts and Men of Moray held the north and east of the island. As yet Scotland was not. It had to arise out of the struggles and the fusion of those contending races. Yet obviously, even now some progress towards unity had been made. The strength of mere individualism had been organised; distinct kingdoms had been constituted out of small principalities; the monarch accepted consecration from the priest, and thus recognised the influence of unseen power and of moral idea as a rule of life. Brute strength was no longer to be held as the only power which a man should own. Organisation and obedience to idea are the two initial steps of civilisation.

Immediately on the victory of Arderydd, Kentigern, the friend and counsellor of Rydderch Hael, was recalled from Wales by the king, and made Bishop of Strathclyde. This territory afterwards became the *parochia* or bishopric of Glasgow. Rydderch, who was intimate with Columba, continued to reign at Alclyde until his death in 603. Columba himself had died in 596—

"In Abererch is the grave of Rydderch Hael."[1]

The subsequent history of the kingdom of Strathclyde shows a gallant struggle against Angle, Pict, and Dane. It preserved an independent existence, though often sadly harassed and reduced, for upwards of three hundred and fifty years. In fact, nothing is more striking than the persistent nationality of the ancient Britons. Theodoric

[1] *Verses of the Graves.*

was King of Bernicia from 580 to 587. He is the *Flamddwyn* or flame-bearer of the bards. Urien, who held Reged, a province to the north of Alclyde, and his son Owen, led the Cymri against the Flame-bearer. They had many contests. Once they met him in that part of the vale of Gala Water, the Gwenystrad, where Arthur, some forty years before, had so signally defeated the sons of Hengist. To the Angles this dale became a twofold Wedale, or dale of woe. The great fort of Guinnion was the key to the Angle kingdom of Bernicia on the west, and round it battle between Angle and Cymri would fiercely rage and storm:—

"The men of Catraeth arose with the dawn,
About the Guledig.

The men of Prydain, hurtful in battle array,
At Gwenystrad, continuously offerers of battle.

In defending Gwenystrad was seen
A mound and slanting ground obstructing.
In the pass of the ford I saw men gory-tinted.

Hand on the cross they wail on the gravel bank of Garanwynyon.

I saw a brow covered with rage on Urien,
When he furiously attacked his foes at the White Stone
Of Galystem."[1]

The following lines are but a prefiguration of what has not unfrequently happened in Border warfare since those early times:—

"A Saxon, shivering, trembling,
With hair white-washed,
And a bier his destiny,
With a bloody face."[2]

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[1] *Book of Taliessin*, xxxi., Skene, i. 344. [2] *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

Here is Urien in his power:—

"If there is a cry on the hill,
Is it not Urien that terrifies,
If there is a cry in the valley,
Is it not Urien that pierces?
If there is a cry in the mountain,
Is it not Urien that conquers,
If there is a cry in the slope,
Is it not Urien that wounds?

A cry of a journey over the plain,
A cry in every meandering vale."[1]

But he "that overcame the land of Bryneich" at last met the hero's fate, and the Cymric bard, with his true-hearted pathos, knew well how touchingly to wail the dead, as he could nobly honour the living. We are told, in many turns of the passionate reiteration of grief, that

"The delicate white corpse will be covered to-day
Under the greensward and a tumulus."[2]

His son too, Owen, beloved of the bards, succumbed in fight, meeting his death at the hand of the Flamddwyn, the foe of his race. And Taliessin, the friend of father and son, tells us that,

"When Flamddwyn killed Owain, there was not one greater than he sleeping;"[3]

or, as it was put by a still earlier poet of heroes—

"Ne'er to the mansions where the mighty rest,
Since their foundation, came a nobler guest."

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[1] *Book of Taliessin*, xliv.
[2] *Ibid.*, xxxiv., Skene, *Books of Wales*, i. 349.
[3] Taliessin in *Book of Hergest*, xii., Skene, *Books of Wales*, i. 357.

No one with a heart can read those grand old odes of that dim and awe-inspiring time, without feeling the touches of human life that are in them, and being persuaded that when the bard spoke of the prince of his day as the oak, and the spirit of the Cymri as the lightning's gleam,[1] he was but using impassioned language which truly symbolised the real. And one cannot help being struck by the contrast in the Vale of Wedale between those early and the later times, since the savage shouts of Cymri and Angle in deadly conflict have passed into the everlasting silence, and the peace of the dale is broken only by bleatings on the hillsides, and its green braes show no stain of blood—only the sweet flickering play of the sunshine on the grass—a scene meet for a lay of the softer passions—when the lass could sing—

> "O'er yon bank and o'er yon brae,
> O'er yon moss amang the heather,
> I'll kilt my coats abune my knee,
> And follow my love through Gala Water."

Aethelric was the last of the sons of Ida who succeeded to the throne of Northumbria. His son was Aethelfrith or Ethelfred, surnamed the Wild. He once again united Deira to Bernicia by usurping the place of his youthful brother-in-law, Eadwin or Edwin, if, indeed, this had not been done under his father, whose position he simply accepted. Aethelfrith is reputed the greatest Saxon aggressor on the Cymri of the north. Bede tells us that he made part of them tributary, seized portions of their territory, exterminating or sub-

[1] *Taliessin*, xxxvii.

jugating the original inhabitants.[1] He quotes and applies to Aethelfrith the words: "Like a ravening wolf he devoured his prey in the morning, and divided the spoil in the evening." Angle conquest was unrelenting — the realised spirit of Wodin and Thor. It meant slaughter or slavery, hence the desperate heroic resistance to it through the centuries by those early hard-driven Cymri. By his success in the battle of Chester (607), Aethelfrith broke the continuity of the Cymri, separating Wales from the northern portion—Y Gogledd—and added to his kingdom of Deira the district between the Dee and the Derwent. The first wedge of severance between the Cymri had been driven in 577, by Ceawlin, at the battle of Deorham. By this the Cymri south of the Severn had been separated from those on the north—briefly, Cornwall from Wales. This second cleaving of the Celts was still more fatal to their united action. In 603, Aidan, the first consecrated king of the Scots of Dalriada, came against Aethelfrith with a large and powerful army, consisting of Scots, Britons, and, it is said, Irish Picts. These tribes were bound together by a common Christianity, that of St Columba, and naturally opposed to the worshippers of Wodin and Thor. They had, besides, greater natural affinity of race than with the Angles. The army of Aidan and that of Aethelfrith met at a point apparently on the northern side of the line of the Cheviots, high up in what has been since well known in Scottish story as Liddesdale. Bede names the spot *Degsastone, Dægsastan, Degsastan.*[2] There is little difficulty in identifying it with

[1] *Historia*, l. i. c. 34. [2] *Ibid.*

Dawstone,[1] the name of one of the head-streams which flows into the Liddel. The earthwork of the Catrail passes here from the Peel Fell by Dawstone Rig. That it existed at this period, however, we cannot definitely say. Aidan with his Scots and Cymri of Strathclyde fought valiantly, cutting off Theobald, the king's brother, and his wing, but they yet suffered a terrible defeat; and from that year of 603 until more than thirty years afterwards, no king of the Scots or Cymri dared to give battle to the Angles of Northumbria. It is probable that after this date the Angles colonised the portion of Strathclyde south of the Solway—that is, between the Firth and the Derwent. It abounds in Angle place-names. This was known afterwards as the land of Carlisle, and though occupied by Angles, it still remained a matter of dispute and contention as to whether it belonged to the Strathclyde or the Northumbrian kingdom. In 617, Aethelfrith was slain in battle on the river Idle, a tributary of the Trent, his opposing foes being Raedwald of East Anglia, and Edwin, the legitimate heir of Deira, whose cause Raedwald had espoused. Edwin in turn, after succeeding to Northumbria, and acquiring a wide supremacy, possibly for the first time pushing the Angle kingdom north to the Firth of Forth, fell in battle at Heithfield in 633, while contending against the upholders of the old paganism, Cædwalla and Penda, King of the Mercians. Edwin seems to have left his name in Edwinsburgh or Edinburgh. There was something very kindly about this Edwin. He cared for his poorer subjects; secured for them safe passage through

[1] Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 162.

his dominions, and did what we now suppose is a very modern thing—had iron dishes attached to the fountains over the country for the wayfarer to drink from. The Cymri of Strathclyde and the Scots of Dalriada had hitherto been usually combined against Angle and Pict. The Cymri all along hated the Picts fervently. Taliessin refers to them as—

"The Gwyddyl, devils, distillers."[1]

Again, he speaks of them as—

"Kiln-distillers,
Intoxicating the drunkards.
. . . . . .
Didactic bards, with swelling breasts, will arise,
Who will meet around mead-vessels
And sing wrong poetry,
And seek rewards that will not be,
Without law, without regulation, without gifts."[2]

This harmony of co-operation between Cymri and Scot was interrupted in 642, when Domnal Breac (Donal Brec), King of Dalriada, attacked the Cymri, and was slain in battle by Ohan or Haan, King of the Britons, in Strathcauin (Strathcarron). Who this personage Ohan was is doubtful. Mr Skene thinks he might have been Cadwallawn, seeking the supremacy of the north as Guledig. With the death of Domnal Breac the line of Aidan ceased, and the kingdom itself probably became subject to the Britons. At this point it would almost seem that in the struggle for supremacy in Scotland the original Cymri rather than the Scots bid fair to win the prize. Subsequently, even the name of Dalriada disappeared from the Irish Chronicles.

[1] *Book of Taliessin*, xiv. [2] *Ibid.*, i.

Under Oswald, who was slain in 642, and his brother Osuiu (Oswy), two powerful kings of Northumbria, encroachment was made on the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde, the Scots of Dalriada and the southern Picts—that is, those between the Tay and the Forth—some of whom had crossed to the southern side of the Firth of Forth, and were thus intramural. In 635, Oswald fought a battle with Ceadwalla and the Welsh of Strathclyde at Dennisborn (Dennisburna), a small tributary of the Tyne, near the Roman Wall, afterward known as Heavenfield, probably Dilston, near Hexham, in which Ceadwalla was killed, and the power of Strathclyde broken. Oswald, we may note, brought Aidan, the Columbite, into Northumbria, and interpreted his preaching to the people—translating Gaelic into English. Again, in 655, the Mercians and Britons were defeated by Oswy, and Penda, King of the Mercians, slain. Cadwallawn escaped with his life.[1] The Cymri of Strathclyde, the Scots of Dalriada, and the intramural Picts seem to have been under subjection to the king of Northumbria, after their defeat by Oswald, for many years. One proof of this may be found in the quaint memorial over the tomb of Alcfrith, deputy King of Deira, son of Oswy who died in 670, still to be seen so far west in the wild moorland as Bewcastle.[2] This is "a column formed of one entire block of grey freestone," with inscriptions naming Alcfrith and his queen *Cyneburga*. This subjection continued during the time of Oswy to the death of his son and successor Ecgfrid, in 685, who fell at Nechtan's Mere, near Dunnichen or

[1] Skene, *Four Books*, i. 179. [2] Ferguson, *Cumberland*, 119.

Dunnechtan, fighting against Bridei, king of the revolted Picts. "Ecgfrid," we are told, "destroyed the last semblance of domestic government in all the petty states of the Cumbri, except Strathclyde proper."

There seems, however, to have been some vitality even in those "last semblances"; for somehow later those petty states got incorporated again with Strathclyde, and certainly with Cumbria. Before setting out on his fatal expedition against the Picts, Ecgfrid granted Carlisle and the surrounding district of fifteen miles to his friend and counsellor, Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. Cuthbert, like the later Thomas the Rhymour, seems to have been gifted with a seer's power, for on the day of the battle of Nechtan's Mere he suddenly became absorbed in a vision that rose before him, and this was the representation of the king and his nobles lying in a ghastly row on the far-away moorland across the Forth. Northumbria appears to have reached its highest point of supremacy under Ecgfrid, and never to have wholly recovered the blow dealt to him and it at Nechtan's Mere. Those Picts who had been subject to Northumbria, the Britons, and Scots rejoined their independence, and retained it for at least forty-six years.

In 694 died Domnal Macauin, King of Alclyde, and in 722, Beli, the son of Elfin, King of Alochluaithe (Alclyde), also died. Before 750, Egbert of Northumbria had added Kyle and Carrick to his kingdom, apparently getting to the west of the realm of Alclyde, and very much weakening it. The Cymri of the intervening mountains and forests were as yet too strong for the Angle invaders. There in this year 750 a great

battle was fought between the Britons and Picts at Magdawc (now Mugdock), in which the latter were defeated. Ecgbert is said to have taken Alclyde in 756, but ten days afterwards he lost his whole army at Niwanbirig.[1] He became dispirited, and died a monk.

A powerful combination was now formed against Alclyde. Eadberht, King of Northumbria, and Angus Mac Fergus, King of the Picts, united their forces, rather an unusual alliance, for the purpose of subjugating the Britons of Strathclyde proper. They were successful; and on the 1st of August 756, they received the submission of the well-stricken Britons in their capital of Alcluth (Alclyde). This subjugation, unlike most others, continued for a considerable period—nearly a hundred years; for after 760, when Dungual of Teudwr died, there is no mention of an independent king of Strathclyde all through that time, until 872, when the name of Arthga appears.[2] In 827, Eadberht, King of Wessex, gained the supremacy among the Saxons and Angles, and was styled "King of the English"; but his power did not extend to Strathclyde proper. The mountains and forests of the southern uplands were now, as afterwards, too hard for the Saxon foe to climb or penetrate.

We have now a direct reference to a king of Strathclyde. We find that one named Cu or Cun married a daughter of Kenneth Macalpine, first King of the Scots and Picts (834 to 843, and then to 854). Mr Skene calls him Run, but this, I think, must be a mistake. Cu or Run, whatever his name may be, was a son of Arthga or Arthgal, King of the Britons of Strathclyde, who was

[1] Sammes, *Britannia*, 546. [2] Skene, *Four Books*, i. 181.

slain—that is, murdered—by the "*consilio*" (purpose) of Constantine, son of Cinadon, King of the Scots. Cu is said to be the father of Eocha or Ethy, King of the Scots, by this daughter of Kenneth Macalpine.[1] Curiously enough, in the very heart of this kingdom of Strathclyde, we have preserved to the present time what seems to be a memorial of its king, Cu; for on the border of Peeblesshire and Lanarkshire, just within the latter, in the parish of Culter, and close to the Nisbet Burn, we have a very large and strong fort, still well defined, flanked by two lesser ones, called by the people *Coo* (or *Ku*) Castle. This has evidently been a place in the early times of the greatest importance. It stands out as a special strength, both from its construction and the numerous surrounding forts, and may possibly have been the seat of this early king of Strathclyde. There is also not far from it the name *Cowgill* or *Coogill* in Lamington, and *Cowthally* or *Cowdailly* on the west of Tinto. *Cu* is supposed to be the *Caw* of the Welsh Chronicles. There was a Caw Prydyn, or King of Briton, Y Gogledd, or the North. After the time of Cu, there seems to have been a pretty close dynastic connection between the kings of the Scots and those of Strathclyde, gradually growing until this latter kingdom or province came to be an appanage of the *tanist* or heir to the Scottish crown. We are told that Constantine in the sixteenth year of his reign gave Eugenius, the son of Donald, his expected heir, the lordship of the region of Cumbria to rule over until he should, on Constantine's death, obtain the diadem of the

[1] Cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 416. Skene, *Four Books*, i. 181; *Celtic Scotland*, i. 393.

kingdom; and, on his being crowned king, his next heir was to succeed to that lordship; and thus the lordship was in future by this rule of succession always to be transferred from the heir immediately on his being crowned king to his next successor.[1]

But a new event had occurred in the history of the island, which served to withdraw the attention of the Angle kings from the Britons on the west. This was the landing of the Danes in Britain, first in Dorsetshire in 787 or 789, and then on the coast of Lindisfarne in 793. Edward, King of Wessex and Mercia, known as the Elder, after a long struggle with the Danes, acquired a wide supremacy in the country; and in 924 the Northumbrians, Scots, and Strathclyde Welsh, no doubt under Danish pressure, chose Edward to "father and lord." They were hard pressed, and he, doubtless, in conjunction with them could help them and himself. But this recognition of Edward the Elder was afterwards twisted into one of the principal grounds of the contention of Edward I. of England for the overlordship of Scotland. A weaker plea for such an arrogant demand could hardly have been resorted to. It shows how rotten the whole case was. It is not at all clear that the Strathclyde Welsh referred to were anything but the petty states of the Britons south of the Cheviots, or immediately adjoining to the north. Nor does it appear that this superiority, whatever its extent, was ever practically enforced, or continued effectual in the absence of the conqueror. The weakness of the case was implied in the fact that John of Hardyng was set to forge suitable

[1] Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, iv. xxi. 155 (ed. Skene).

contemporaneous documents—as, for example, that purporting to be made and sealed by Malcolm Canmore in 1065.[1] Edward himself died a year afterwards. His successor had to fight for his position. Northumbria was now at least under the power of the kings of Wessex, and from this time onwards, that is, from 924 until 954, there was almost a constant struggle between the Danes and the Angles to retain the Northumbrian kingdom.

There does not seem, at least, to have been much protection for Strathclyde from its so-called overlords. The Vikings from Dublin in 870 took Alclyde, the capital, after a siege of four months. Halfden, also, of Northumbria, the Dane, wasted Strathclyde in 875. Thus harassed and struck at, many Britons emigrated from Strathclyde to Wales in 890, fighting their way southwards. They got a refuge in Wales among their kinsmen, after being permitted to fight the Saxons for it, and doing it successfully. Their place was between the Conway and the Dee. Their descendants in Flintshire and the vale of the Clwyd, a name resonant of their old northern home, its gleaming water and its apple-blossom, were for many centuries distinguished by accent and manners from the surrounding people of Wales. Thus passed away a portion at least of the folk of old Strathclyde. That they called the new district *Stradcluid* is a touching proof of the love and devotion they had for the hills and glens of their native Lowlands of Scotland.

The Danes succeeded in obtaining possession of Northumbria in the ninth century, which they dismembered.

[1] See *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. 1.

Deira was ruled over by Halfden after 876. Bernicia, while subject to the Danes, was governed by a king or duke.[1] But these Danes do not seem to have occupied "the land of Carlisle," far less Strathclyde to the north, in the way at least of subjugation. Strathclyde must have been colonised, however, to some extent by the Danes, for we have traced many Danish place-names up the Tweed and at the heads of its tributary waters.

The tide of war was now, however, to turn against the Danes. An energetic personage of the name of Grig or Gregory comes across the scene, and he, it is said, drove the Danes out of the Strathclyde territory and even Northumbria. Grig was either king of the Scots, or a vigorous general under him—one called Aodh or Eocha, son of Cu of Strathclyde, and grandson of Kenneth Macalpine, the same, therefore, as Eth or Ethy. Grig seems to have succeeded in uniting into one kingdom Strathclyde proper, Galloway, and the land of Carlisle, that is, the district between the Derwent and the Solway, which, in spite of Danish aggression, had remained Angle. This kingdom came to be called Cumbria. Joscelin had spoken of the inhabitants of Strathclyde as Cumbri, and hence the name of the territory.

Grig was succeeded in 893 on the Scottish throne by Donal IV. or VI., according to varying lines of descent (893-904). Contemporary with this Donal was a Donal, King of Strathclyde. Donal, King of the Scots, died in 904, and was succeeded by Constantine III. (904-944), who on the death of Donal of Strathclyde got his own

[1] Cf. Ferguson, *Cumberland*, 130.

brother Donal made king of that district. He is said to have been "elected." The original British line of the kings of Strathclyde was thus replaced by a member of the Scottish dynasty. Strathclyde was now clearly under the Scottish crown. The kings of Strathclyde seem now to have lived and reigned in the district, but only as subordinate to the monarchy of Scotland. Donal, second of Strathclyde, was succeeded by Eugenius or Owen, his son, and he is styled always "King of Cumbria."[1] It was thus that a new kingdom of Cumbria had arisen out of the reunion and incorporation of the sundered elements of old Strathclyde, representing pretty accurately that kingdom as it stood in the sixth century, with the addition of Galloway. But, as we have seen, the indigenous Britons, harassed by Angle and Dane, had already betaken themselves in considerable numbers to Gwynned (or North Wales), where they found a refuge among their kinsmen.

The battle of Brunnanburgh (or Bruanburh), in 925 or 937, was a great trial of strength between Dane and Saxon, under Aethelstan, the West Saxon king, in which the Dane was worsted. In this fight the remaining Britons of Strathclyde were beaten with the Danes. They had obviously gone readily with any ally, even an old enemy, against the ever-aggressive and overbearing Angles.

In 944 King Edmund of Wessex subdued Northumbria, and expelled the two Danish kings in possession, viz., Anlaf, son of Sitriuc, and Regnald, son of Guthfrith. The principal seat of the Danes at this period was

[1] Cf. Ferguson, *Cumberland*, 131, 132.

Dublin, whence they ruled the Western Isles and western coast of Scotland. They had passed through the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde to Northumbria, and had obtained their help. Edmund, in 945, after expelling the Danes from Northumbria, in revenge ravaged all Cumbria, and gave it up to Malcolm I., King of the Scots, on condition "that he should be his co-operator on sea and land." This has been regarded, very unwarrantably, as a recognition of the feudal supremacy of England over Scotland. The truth is, that Scotland was not yet constituted into one kingdom. The idea of feudalism, as it afterwards came to be taken, was not developed or understood in Britain at this time, and even if it had been so developed, it could have applied only to the territory which the King of the Scots acquired from the King of the Saxons, without extending to the other parts of the kingdom.

When Edmund of Wessex and Northumbria overran and seized Strathclyde or Cumbria (945-946), the king of the district was Donal, or Domnal. He was the son of Eugenius, King of Strathclyde, who figured in the battle of Brunnanburgh, on the Danish side. This would be the third known Donal of Strathclyde, now Cumbria. Donal, or Domnal, may appear in the form of Dunmail; and Dunmail, "the last king of rocky Cumberland," is said to have fallen in battle with the Angle on the watershed of Dunmail Raise,[1] under the shadow of Helvellyn, between urn-like Grasmere and wooded Thirlmere.

[1] Sir Walter Scott, curiously enough, places Dunmail Raise on Windermere. This was in 1814, in the introduction to the *Antiquities of the Border*, 25. The mistake seems never to have been corrected.

But some thirty years after this, in 975, we find that a Domnal, Donal, or Dunwallan, king or prince of Strathclyde, died at Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. It is not clear who this was—whether the Domnal of Edmund's time, who had not been killed, as is supposed, or a son. He was probably the latter, and a vassal king under the Scottish crown. We know there were sons of the Domnal of Edmund's day, who were atrociously treated by the conqueror, Edmund. Later, in 997, Malcolm, the son of Donal, King of the North Britons, died. Then between 997 and 1004 (or 995 and 1003), Kenneth, son of Dubh (Duffus), King of Alban, known as the Fourth, successfully withstood Aethelred, King of England, who sought to wrest Cumbria from him.

On the death of Eadwig of Wessex in 958, Eadgar, who succeeded, united the kingships of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. He realised to an extent greater than had been achieved before the unity of Angles and Saxons, who now occupied England. His overlordship also of the Britons south of the Tweed, and probably even in Strathclyde, was wider and firmer than had been as yet reached. And in his time the Lowlands of Scotland began really to assume the form which they now possess. On the advice of Dunstan, who was both the great ecclesiastic and prime adviser of the king, Eadgar handed over the northern part of Northumbria—that is, the portion from the Tweed to the Forth now known as the Merse and the Lothians—to Kenneth III. (970-994), King of Scots. This was probably given simply as a fief and as a bribe to secure the alliance of the northern king. The part of shrunken Northumbria south of the

Tweed was now reduced to a simple earldom. Afterwards, in the sore troubles of the English with the Danes, its earls usually sided with the Scandinavian host.

This cession of northern Northumbria to Kenneth may serve to explain to some extent the Anglicising of the kingdom of Scotland, and the remarkable and somewhat mysterious fact of the spread of the Angle language of the Lothians northwards and westwards over Scotland. The people of this part of Northumbria were certainly distinctively Angle, that is, English. The Cymri still held Strathclyde; the Picts were in Galloway, though they had come under Scottish rule. Ayr and Dumbarton, as parts of Strathclyde, were mainly Celtic. Fife, Forfar, and Aberdeen were decidedly Pictish—that is, of the early Gaelic or Goidelic stock. But Angle customs, manners, and language had been prevailing and powerful in the Merse and the Lothians for at least four hundred years. The people and language were more purely Anglian there than in any other district north of the Tweed. This was true from the shore of the Firth of Forth, including Edwinsburgh, to the north-east bank of the Tweed. They had formed part of an influential kingdom which up till now had bid fair to become the controlling power of a united England. The original Cymri and Picts had been absorbed in the Angle nationality. The day of political supremacy, of overlordship over Mercia and Wessex, was, however, gone; but the influence born of a civilisation and a language akin to and dominant in the powerful south, was still the property of the Lothians. The centre of government for comparatively united Scot-

land now, also, was to be found not here and there over the land, in this or that strong castle, but in one place, one metropolis, the Angle city of Edwin, known of old as Mynyd Agned, the *Castrum Puellarum*, now Edinburgh. Hence, as the seat of government, this province dominated the other parts of Scotland, gave colour to customs and laws, and, above all, to language. The force of the central government here, and its use of the Angle tongue, the old Scottish language, the purest and closest form of the original Angle, spread over the districts of Gael, Cymri, and Pict; and from this beginning, within a few centuries, the Scottish tongue, flowing directly from the Angle fountain, became the language of Scotland, always excepting that portion of the country which knew only the Gaelic of Dalriada. It was thus possible in the days of David I. to formulate a code of laws in the Scottish tongue, or in that form of the Angle which in the time had naturally grown up, and which subsisted in characteristic fulness and grew in refinement through Barbour and Blind Harry, and reached classical power, rhythm, and grace in Henryson, Dunbar, Gawain Douglas, Lyndsay, and Montgomerie, until its development was arrested by the Union of the Crowns, and the constrained substitution for it of the southern English on the part of Drummond of Hawthornden, Alexander of Menstrie, Aytoun of Kinaldy, and latterly even Thomson, the poet of the *Seasons*. For all these men, however accomplished, and whatever we may think of their labours, were merely students and learners of a foreign language. The Merse and Lothians now contain probably the people in all Scotland of purest

Angle descent, and the common people speak the tongue nearest to the old Angle language.

But notwithstanding this cession of Northumbria to Scotland, there was still contention about it, not unsuccessful on the part of the southern kings. In 1018, Malcolm II. (1003-1033 or 1034), son of Kenneth III., invaded Northumbria along with Owen or Eugenius the Bald, king under Malcolm of the Britons of Strathclyde.[1] They reached Carham, on the south side of the Tweed (or Car, near Wark, according to Burton),[2] where a battle was fought. Here the Northumbrians were defeated, and the whole district north of the Tweed was anew given up to the King of Scots. Probably in Edgar's time it had been regarded as a fief; now it seems to have been acquired by force of arms. This northern part of Northumbria came henceforward to be known as Lodonia, Laodonia, or Lothian. The Tweed became for a considerable length the southern boundary of the kingdom of the Scots. Eugenius was slain this year, probably in the battle of Carham. With him terminated the line of the kings of Strathclyde, who were of the same stock with Malcolm himself, being descended from Kenneth Macalpine. Malcolm II., the first King of "Scotia," died in 1033 or 1034. With him the male line of Kenneth Macalpine became extinct. Malcolm's grandson, Duncan, son of his daughter Bethoc, married to the Abbot of Crinan, succeeded. Then there comes the murder of Duncan and the Macbeth episode. By the help of Siward the Dane, Earl of Northumberland—now only an earldom, and restricted to the district between the

[1] Ritson, ii. 185.

[2] *Scotland*, i. 310.

Humber and the Tweed — Malcolm, the son of the murdered Duncan, was put in possession of Cumbria and Lothian. This he held independently altogether of the rest of Scotland. Three years afterwards he slew Macbeth at Lumphanan in Mar, and thus obtained a firm hold of his father's crown. With him, known as Malcolm Canmore or Malcolm III. (1056-1093), the history of modern Scotland properly begins. Cumbria north of the Solway remained connected with the Scottish crown. After the Conquest, however, William seems to have seized Cumbria south of the Solway, and then to have restored it to Malcolm in 1072 or 1073.[1] Malcolm became "his man," or did him homage on the occasion, whatever that, in the phraseology of the time, really implied.[2] In 1091, again, we find that William made this southern part of Cumbria into an earldom, that of Carlisle, showing that he was exercising or usurping over it sovereign rights. But the sovereignty of the district still remained matter of contention, for Malcolm finally fell at Alnwick in 1093, fighting about the disputed claims to Cumbria and Northumbria.

Edgar, the son of Malcolm Canmore and the Saxon Margaret, reigned from 1098 to 1107. He was succeeded by his brother, Alexander I. Edgar bequeathed to his youngest brother David, probably in accordance with family tradition and arrangements, the eastern district

[1] Mr Ferguson seems to maintain that it was taken by Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, about 1070.—*Cumberland*, 138.

[2] We have the precise terms of a later act of homage: "Rex Malcolmus Scotorum veniens ad regem Angliæ Henricum apud Cestriam devenit homo suus, eo modo quo avus suus fuerat homo veteris regis Henrici, salvis omnibus dignitatibus suis."—*Chronica de Mailros*, Preface, viii.

from the Lammermoors to the Tweed, and the western portion of the country from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway. This included the greater part of Laodonia (Lodonia), formerly part of Bernicia, and all that remained in the power of the Scottish kings of the territory of Strathclyde or Cumbria. This apparently was still held to stretch southwards of the Solway, as appears from the Inquisition of 1116. On Edgar's death (1107), David became Earl or Comes of Cumbria, with something like an independent jurisdiction. When he became king in 1124, Cumbria was united under one government to Scotland—that is, to the part of the island north of the Forth inhabited by Pict and Scot and Men of Moray. Had his brother Edgar lived and transmitted the northern kingdom to a son, we might have had Scotland split up thenceforward into Scotland north of the Forth, and what is now the Lowlands.

In 1139 we find Stephen, after the somewhat indecisive battle of Northallerton, giving up to Prince Henry all Northumbria, retaining only the fortresses of Newcastle and Durham. This showed a loosening of the hold over the whole north of England.

In 1157, Malcolm IV., or the Maiden, agreed to give up any claim to Northumbria and Cumbria south of the Solway to his cousin Henry II.[1] This cession had obviously not been practically carried out, for the part of Cumbria south of the Solway was again ceded by William the Lion, after his capture at Alnwick, to Henry II. in 1174, as part of his ransom. But this did not as yet settle the ever-disputed boundary. Then we

[1] Burton, *Scotland*, ii. 64.

find it stated that the Border line of the two countries, as now known, was practically fixed in 1222, and again that the part of Cumbria south of the Solway was finally annexed to England in 1237. When precisely the annexation finally took place, or whether ratified by mutual agreement at all, seems to me extremely doubtful. There was, in fact, a game of cession and retrocession, or rather giving and grabbing on both sides, for some centuries, and probably in the end the boundaries were left to settle themselves.

Notwithstanding the incorporation of Strathclyde or Cumbria with Scotland, the inhabitants still bore the Welsh name, and were mainly Cymric, till past even the time of David I. They were known as the Strathclwyd Wealas, or Walenses. At the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, the "Cumbrenses" and the "Tevidalenses," or Britons of Strathclyde, formed the second division of the heterogeneous army called Scots, which was led to disaster by the Scottish king.

The latest reference we have to the Britons or Cumbrenses of Strathclyde as still a distinct race, is in the reign of Malcolm IV., about 1165. After that they seem to have wholly merged in the general population. Their language as a spoken dialect had evidently disappeared even in the time of David I., in whose reign the recognition of the ancient existing Burghs, their reconstitution, and the collection of the old Burgh Laws, were marked events. The laws were originally given in Latin, but the Angle words embodied show the character of the popular language of David's time, and even of that of his predecessors. The language which succeeded the

ancient British in Cumbria was obviously the Angle or broad-vowelled branch of the Saxon—in fact, the language of the adjacent kingdom or province of Northumbria, a dialect more closely connected with the Frisian and Scandinavian than with the Saxon of middle England. This absorption of the Cymri and their spoken language points to a large immigration from Northumbria, and probably other parts of England, of the common people, who were feeling the pressure of the feudal manners and the forest laws south of the Tweed.

The charter lists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show a great preponderance of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman names of persons on the Tweed. Here and there a British name crops up. But it is rare. And now I do not know that we can point to more than two names of families, which might with probability be referred to a British origin. These are *Welsh*, and *Ker* or *Caer*. *Welsh* is Teutonic, meaning *foreigner*, and was a name applied by the Saxons to the Cymri. Welsh may fairly be regarded as the representative of Weala, or Walensis, the old national name given by the Saxons, as Fleming indicates another nationality. The Welshes abounded during the middle ages in Tweedsmuir, one of the most remote fastnesses of the Britons, and their representatives are still to be found there as shepherds, farmers, and lairds. *Ker* is no doubt from *Caer*, a fort, a designation plentifully sprinkled over the hills of Tweeddale. Johannes Ker, Venator, is in Swinehope, now Soonhope, in a charter of the year 1200. And John has left a like-named hill in that beautiful glen, full of old remains, where probably he had his dwelling, the *Caersmann*, the

place of the fort. I am inclined to attribute the surname *Wallace* to the same British origin. Its earliest form is *Walense*, which is the Latinised form of *Weala* or *Wealas*. Glen and Craig are not necessarily Cymric names, for a Saxon subsequently dwelling in the one or by the other might adopt the surname; whereas Caer did not survive the Angle occupation as a local name, except in composition.

I have thus sought to indicate the position of the Cymri in our national history, because it is a chapter in that history which is comparatively little known. And, further, these people do not occupy a place which is that of a mere broken past; our life is continuous with theirs; perhaps it is so through blood, and imaginative impulses which now and again have made, as has been suggested, their appearance in the course of our literature, in our sentiment, in our melancholy and despair, and in our defiant protest against the despotism of fact in the interests of memory or of a higher ideal. On this I do not give any opinion; but I feel sure that these old Cymri are connected with us in the inspiration of romance, which has passed from them to the continent of Europe, especially to Brittany, and back again to us. If we wish to recur to the fountain whence have sprung Arthurian tradition, and its accompanying weird and heroic ideals, if we wish to see the first out-wellings of that romance which has raised us above self and commonplace and conventionalism, which has influenced English poetry from Chaucer to Tennyson, we must go back to that Cymric people who loom so dimly in the early dawn of our history, the comfort of whose simple life was broken

up by harassing war, who showed such a spirit of defence, who suffered so greatly and bore so patiently, and in exile longed so grandly and hoped so nobly for the sight of their native hills. The fountains of romance for Britain and for Europe first opened amid the southern uplands of the kingdom of Strathclyde. I am not using the language of exaggeration when I say that the deeds, the sufferings, particularly the exile into Brittany, and the songs of the Cymri of the Tweed, grew into mediæval gest and romance; that the breath of those uplands gave inspiration to the literature of Europe in the twelfth century; as the ballad epics of the unknown minstrels of the Borders freshened it once again in the early part of this century of ours.

The old songs and ballads of the Borderland, especially the Yarrow, are, as is well known, marked by an intense pathos, even sadness. The scenery no doubt has had something to do with this, and the tragic deeds and the home sorrows that followed these have also had their part in the result. But I cannot help thinking that the first source of the pathos and the sorrow, so far as human story is concerned, is to be sought further back than even the time of Scottish history. The wilds of the Yarrow, the Ettrick, the Teviot, and the Tweed were the last resort, the last hope of a far-back decaying nationality,—that of the Cymri of Strathclyde. Their bards, Taliessin and Merdyn (or Merlin), poured out impassioned wailings over what seemed an inevitable fate. Here and there these strains are touched with a gleam of hope which was never realised; yet with a true Celtic fervour they clung to their native hills, subdued in heart, yet resolute

and tenacious. And down even to the thirteenth century, and well on in Scottish history, they had preserved some fragments of their nationality, for their name still lingered at the Battle of the Standard (1138); and their customs were distinct and peculiar, for we still hear of the laws of "the Bretts and the Scotts." To the fusion of the blood and feeling of this people with the new-comers—Angle and Scandinavian—and their long seclusion in the valleys and the hills from national influences, I ascribe a large share of the pathos, sadness, and regret which appear in the mediæval Yarrow songs. The sadness is in the very air, in the spirit of the people who made and listened to those songs. It is deep and widespread, not as the sadness of an individual but a race. The hills even to this day bear witness to this extinguished nationality and its struggles for life, in the green mounds that clothe their ruined dwellings, their raths, and their camps; in the standing-stones and grey cairns which mark their now forgotten dead. One feels almost as if there were the silence of an old graveyard over all the hills, where people rest in forgetfulness:—

> "The part of pomp that fills
> The circuit of the summer hills
> Is that their graves are green."

There is no spot more famous or more touching in pathetic song than that of the Dowie Dens of Yarrow, where the lips of the maiden were reddened by the kisses she gave to her dead and sorely stricken knight. But this was not the first time this very spot, this haugh of the river, had been a scene of sorrow; for its standing-stones are there to witness to an earlier battle, and to

earlier death-wounds. The rude lettering of one of them even points to a great fight in that dim prehistoric day. On it are rudely graved the names of men who themselves or their sons had fought in the great and crucial fight of Ardderyd in 573, and survived to meet their death-wound in the haughs of Yarrow. It was the echo, the refrain, of this and other earlier sorrows which, mingling with the wailing music of later tragic deeds, has swelled to the volume of sadness which now flows in the monotone of the waters of Yarrow.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CATRAIL.

Any notice of the territory of Strathclyde would be imperfect without some reference to what is known as the *Catrail*, and also as the *Picts Work Ditch*. The former, according to Gordon, is the name which this line of fosse and mounds commonly bears in Roxburghshire, and the latter is that under which it is known in Selkirkshire. This work as it is found at present may be described as a central ditch or fosse, flanked by two earthen mounds. Along and near its line are numerous forts, camps, or dwellings, in fact ring-enclosures, of the type common on the hills of the Lowlands of Scotland. It has extended apparently from the Peel Fell, one of the Cheviots, to a spot on the banks of the Gala Water, the summit of a wooded hill half a mile above the present mansion-house of Torwoodlee. The length of the line, supposing it to have been originally continuous, or to have run with occasional natural breaks of crag and hill-face, is about forty-eight miles. In Roxburghshire it was twenty miles, from the Peel Fell to Hoscote. Passing then into Selkirkshire, it runs twenty-eight miles from Hoscote to the camp

or rings at Torwoodlee. Its course is somewhat circuitous, and it zigzags a good deal, often winding and doubling back. The line of country in Roxburghshire which it traverses is, as the crow flies, about fifteen miles; in Selkirkshire it is eighteen miles, — in all, thirty-three miles of direct length, as compared thus with its forty-eight miles of circuitous route. The course from the Peel Fell is south-west to north-east.

This ancient rampart cannot now be traced in a continuous line, but its remains appear here and there so definitely as to enable one to delineate its general course. From the sloping side of the Peel Fell, above Myre Dykes, it passes north-eastward by the Caddroun Water, and then crosses the Dawstane Burn at or near the point where Aidan, King of the Scots of Dalriada, in alliance with the Cymri of Strathclyde, suffered disastrous defeat by the Angle King of Northumbria. It then goes up the right-hand side of the Cliffhope Burn, passing "The Abbey." It passes Cliffhope Shepherd's House on the west or left hand, is lost for a long distance on the moor, and reappears northwards at Robert's Linn, in the valley of the Slitrig. Passing on through the high moorland here, it crosses the Leap, Harwood, and Langside Burns, and ascends the Pike Fell (1516 feet). The line is then towards the valley of the Allan, which it crosses about two miles above its junction with the Teviot. Here there are several very strong and imposing remains of forts. The line then descends into the valley of the Teviot by the North House Burn, where it is well marked. It crosses the Teviot and winds up Commonside Hill. It is seen afterwards along the margin of Broadlee Loch and

by Hoscote Burn. Passing into the valley of the Rankle Burn, the line is apparent by Clear Burn Loch, whence it ascends the Home Law. The line then appears on the summit of Corse Head (1319), where there are remains of a strong fort. It is then seen in the valley of the Ettrick below Stanhope Foot, as if making for the slope of Coplaw and Deloraine. It seems then to have crossed the Ettrick, ascending Gilmanscleuch in the direction of Sundhope Hill. It crossed the valley of the Yarrow at Redhawse, a point near the Free Church. It is then found on the ascent of the Swinebrae Hill above Yarrow kirk, passes along Henhillhope, where it is well marked in several places, and runs along the south-east declivity of Minchmuir. It then goes north-eastward by Wallace's Trench along the high lands of Broadmeadows, by the Three Brethren Hill, along the Peat Law and Linglee Hill, and crosses the Tweed near the mouth of the Howden Pot Burn. It is seen distinctly in the wood on the farm of Hollybush, then on the Rink Hill, and on Mossilee. It passes onwards, and apparently terminates at the strong fort and broch of Torwoodlee. In most places now the work appears almost like a brown benty road across the moor, so completely have central ditch and lateral ramparts disappeared under the wild winter storms of those uplands during the last fourteen hundred years or more. Indeed the truth seems to be in regard to the Catrail, that its line has been actually superseded here and there by mountain roads. This was quite to be expected. The old makers of the ditch had worked down to the hard ground, and this was utilised as a line of mountain road, and came to be defaced from its former appearance as a

ditch and mound. This I have no doubt is the case between Cliffhope Herd's House and Robert's Linn, between Commonside on the Teviot and Clearburn Loch towards Ettrick, from Gilmanscleuch on the Ettrick across Sundhope Hill to the Yarrow. Its probable line has been merged in old Border mountain roads: a mere road was never the primary use of the Catrail, but this has become its secondary use.

The principal features to be noted regarding this earthwork are these:—

1. The line in ascending a hill rarely seeks the very top. It runs usually "mid-brae," affecting the sloping side, and keeping almost universally on the east side of the summit of the hill.

2. It follows no natural line of boundary, but crosses hill and valley and stream, always making for a point to the north-east, if we regard it as starting from the Peel Fell.

3. In crossing burns and waters, which it does very frequently, it never turns aside to seek a ford, but goes straight onwards, even where there is a precipitous cliff or scaur, appearing again on the other side of the stream opposite the point of entrance. This is particularly remarkable at the point where it crosses the Hoscote Burn. This characteristic is, as seems to me, fatal to "the road" theory of its use, even if this were not capable of being disposed of on other grounds.

4. It ought always to be borne in mind that the work is not simply a ditch with its lateral mounds, but that along and near its line is a series of forts or fortified dwellings obviously connected with it. The situation

and relative positions of these form an important element in determining the nature and purpose of the line itself.

The measurements of the breadth and depth of the Catrail since it was first publicly noticed by Alexander Gordon in 1726, have been somewhat varied. My own measurements since 1878 at various points have been as follows: On the brae up from Langside Burn above Shank End Shiel in Roxburghshire to the south-east, the width from top to top of the lateral ramparts across ditch, measuring from the centre of each rampart, was 23 feet 6 inches. The breadth of the ditch itself, measured from inside of lateral mounds or ramparts, was 6 feet. The sloping depths of the eastern rampart was 10 feet. On the summit of Hat Knowe (the rig between Langside Burn and Harwood Burn that slopes down from the Maiden Paps), the breadth from top to top of lateral rampart was 18 feet 6 inches. On the moor eastward above Shank End Shiel (1013 feet above the sea), the breadth from top to top of rampart is 19 feet. I may here note that my measurements of the breadth were almost universally made from the centre of the top of the one mound to a similar point on the opposite mound. The lateral depth of slope was measured from this central point to the centre of the bottom of the ditch. This was necessary, inasmuch as the mounds are now obviously greatly reduced in height from what they originally were, and so both breadth and width were originally greater than now.[1]

[1] I may note that these are but scant fragments of my measurements. I have gone over the whole of this earthwork from Torwoodlee to the Peel Fell,—many parts of it more than once,—but to give the details would unduly enlarge this book.

Some allowance must be made for the waste of upwards of a hundred and fifty years since Gordon made his measurements in person, and for the less period that has elapsed since Dr Douglas supplied the dimensions to Chalmers. The immense extension of agriculture since the earliest period, and its defacing power, must also be remembered. While it cannot be said with Gordon that the ordinary or average breadth of the Catrail is 26 feet, this estimate is greatly nearer the maximum than Mr Kennedy's, which reduces it to 12 feet. The measurements of Mr Smail and my own, are right in the face of this maximum; and Mr Kennedy has also greatly underestimated the maximum depth of the fosse. In fact, his examination of the work has been too limited for general conclusions. I have no doubt that width, depth, and thickness of lateral rampart varied greatly with the requirements of position, and with the nature of the soil. But it would be ridiculous now to dogmatise as to the original maximum height of a rampart, or the depth of a ditch, which have stood the waste and the upfilling of fourteen hundred years, absolutely exposed on the wildest and most storm-swept hills of Scotland, and often running through moss and muir of the most sodden and shifting kind. In some places where the ground is hard, the maximum depth is not found. But this does not prove anything regarding its original depth even in such a place; for rain, wind, and snow would here naturally wear down the mounds in course of time, and the material thus worn or broken would be washed away down the slope along the hard bottom line of the ditch.

The continuity of the line of the Catrail has been

questioned, and this chiefly on the ground of alleged breaks in its course. Thus it is said that there is no trace of it between the Three Brethren Hill and Minchmuir, a distance of some miles, and that there is a similar gap between Minchmuir and the Yarrow, and between the Yarrow and the Ettrick, across Sundhope Hill. It is just possible, however, that the alleged lack of continuity in those instances arises from lack of careful observation. There are distinct traces of the work from the Three Brethren Hill to Minchmuir, and from Minchmuir along to close on the Yarrow; and what is more, its line is here well marked by forts or fortified dwellings.

It has happened also in some instances that the line of the earthwork has been used specially in the mediæval times as a hill-road. It has thus become flattened and its characteristic features obliterated. This is, I think, the case in regard to the line over Sundhope Hill itself, where the hill-road has obviously usurped its place, and where occasionally cuttings unmistakably of the original earthwork can be quite well discerned by careful observation. In fact, it is a singular feature of the whole line of the Catrail, that where it is not now traceable distinctively, there is commonly in what would naturally have been its course a comparatively modern hill or bridle road.

But even supposing that there are breaks in the line, it is somewhat assumptive to talk of this present lack of continuity as a proof that the original line was actually never continuous. The fourteen hundred years which, on any hypothesis, have elapsed since it was

made, with their waste of rain, snow, ice, and wind, apart from the plough, are quite sufficient to account for any breaks that can be proved. But such a ground for a conclusion of this sort is seen to be ridiculous when we recollect the present state of the Roman works even in the immediate neighbourhood of the Catrail. We know how many continuous ways there were in those old times, all substantial works done by Roman hands, most of them carefully dug and paved. Take only the Maiden Way from Magna (Corvoran) on the Roman Wall up through Northumberland and into Roxburghshire —who can now continuously trace it? There is the way also by Papcastle to Ambleside; that from Lugavallum (Carlisle) to Virosidum (Elenborough); there is the Devil's Causeway that crossed the Coquet, and then went on to the Wall at Cilurnum (Walwich Chesters). Let it be considered that no one can now continuously trace the route of any one of those roads except conjecturally. Then, to come down to later times, there is Offa's Dyke, which stretched from the Wye to the Dee. I make bold to say, from personal observation, that not so much remains of this as of the Catrail, yet it was a continuous work for a hundred miles. Of what value, then, is the fact of there being now untraceable portions of the line of any of those works as a proof that they were not originally continuous from point to point?

But on this point of non-continuity I so far concur as to hold it at least as probable that the diggers of the fosse did not actually carry it quite through those parts of the district where a natural equivalent of defence could be substituted for it. At various points in the

line of the Catrail it seems to me that advantage has originally been taken of steep hill-face, and burn with precipitous banks—that the cutting has stopped where those intervened, and has been resumed where they terminated. There is one very good instance of this on the Ettrick, near the foot of Stanhope Law. The line had evidently come down the Coplaw from the east, making for the south-west as usual. After crossing the Coplaw Burn, or Pearl Hope Burn as some call it, there is a very marked cutting of the line of the Catrail. But there is no trace of it close to the margin of the banks of the burn, at least on the west, which are very precipitous, and form a natural defence. The remaining cutting is so placed as exactly at a point of vantage to bar the approach up the pass or hope of the Coplaw Burn. The precipitous banks of the burn on the east would be a protection on that side, and the ditch probably ran downwards on the boggy ground on the west to the plain. It appears, in fact, to be a crescent line of defence thrown across a comparatively easy pass giving access to the south. Thus on the west the steep side of the Stanhope Law would form a natural defence, needing no ditch. Beyond the Law the hope allowed an opening to the south; but in it are two burns, with very broken and precipitous banks. One or other of these the diggers of the ditch accepted as an equivalent for their work, and were content to allow it to take its place on the line. This broken burn runs up southwards nearly to the Corse Head, where there are remains of a strong fortification, and near which are signs of the fosse itself. On various other parts of the line the same mode

of accommodation could easily be pointed out, more particularly up the Broadlee Burn to Broadlee Loch, and down the Teindside Burn to the Teviot. The line, I infer accordingly, was continuous, in the sense that it was a work designed and carried through from the Cheviots to Torwoodlee; but at points the constructors availed themselves of hill-slope or burn which could be naturally utilised as a substitute for the task of actual digging. And I may add that this is what has actually happened in the case of a similar work, the Black Dike of Northumberland. This is a well-dug trench; yet where a rock or crag is available in its way, it at one ceases, accepting this as a substitute, and again reappears on the farther side of the natural defence.

What, it may be asked, is the meaning of the term *Catrail?* This prefix is both Welsh and Saxon or Angle. In Welsh it is *Câd*, and means battle, and it also means simply *cat*. This is so also in the Teutonic. It is thus simply significant of the primeval haunts of the wild cat of the district. We cannot thus at once decisively refer the name of the place to one of the designations, whether *battle* or *cat*. But it is interesting to find so many names with this prefix in the Lowlands of Scotland, and many of them on or near the line of the Catrail. Thus, for example, we have the very ancient name of *Catcun* or *Catgun*, up near the head of the South Esk in Harviestoun, in the parish of Borthwick; and this we know is compounded of *cat* or *câd*, battle, and *cun* or *gun*, a lord —meaning, apparently, a warrior or battle lord. This at once suggests the famous Castle Gunnyon of the very early times. In the valley of the Gala, about two miles

above the camp at Torwoodlee, we have *Cathie*, originally *Caitha*. We have also, not far from Torwoodlee, the *Cadon* or *Caddon* Water, with the same prefix—the affix being either *oun*, *ash*, or *dun*, *hill*, *height*.

North of Torwoodlee we have *Muckle Catpair* and *Little Catpair*. Is the affix here the Welsh *pair*, the Cornish *per*, meaning a *kettle* or *cauldron?* On Tinnis, in Yarrow, a farm, the north of which shows the line of the Catrail, we have *Cat-craig;* westwards, still near the line, there is the *Catslack* and the *Catslack Burn;* and near this, at Yarrow Feus, there are the *Cat Holes*. Then the line crosses the *Catlee Burn*, a tributary of the Harwood Burn, in Roxburghshire. Is this the Cymric *Cadleys*, a camp or entrenchment? But most significant of all is the name *Caddroun*, *Caddron*, *Cathorn Water;* for the Catrail passes close to the foot of this stream, where it has been strongly fortified. The *Cad* of Caddroun is almost certainly *battle* (*Câd*, Welsh), and the latter part may be taken as the same as the affix in *Caerdrona*, meaning *ridge* or *on the ridge*, which most aptly indicates the locality. Or if we take the other form, *Cadderoun* or *Cadderon*, we have in all probability *Cader*, a strong fortified place; and the large encampment is there to testify to the appropriateness of the name, to say nothing of the breastwork entrenchments a little farther up the valley. Can the *oun* or *on* of this word be the Welsh *oun*, *ash-tree*, and secondarily *spear?* And is *Cadderon* simply the fort of the ash, thus palisaded? Then we have, besides, *Cadmore* (Cademuir) in Peeblesshire, which refers, almost without doubt, to one in the series of the Arthurian combats.

There has been, of course, much debate over the etymology of the term *Catrail*. The following are the chief etymologies or guesses at etymology :—

1. Gordon, following Mackenzie of Delvin, gives "*vallum separationis*, or mound of division, boundary."

2. Chalmers gives nearly the same,—"the dividing fence," or "the partition of defence."

3. Jeffrey, "a war fence or partition,—*Cat* signifying conflict or battle, and *Rhail*, a fence."

4. Others give *Cater*, a camp, and *Rhail*, a fence, a dividing fence among the camps.

5. Others give *Cud*, a ditch, and *Rhail*, a fence, the ditch fence or boundary.

The nearest approach to the meaning of *Catrail* is, I think, to be found in the Cornish, which has given us so many other names here. As a matter of fact, we know that the oldest, if not the very oldest, surviving names in the Lowlands of Scotland, are of Cymric origin, partly Welsh, partly Cornish. The obscure tribes known through Roman authorities as Ottadeni, Gadeni, Damnii or Damnonii, occupying the country from the eastern sea to the far uplands of the west, were unquestionably Cymri, with a language nearer the old Cornish than the Gaelic or even the surviving Welsh. In Welsh there are two forms, *Câd* and *Cat*, both from the Sanskrit root *Cath*, to hurt or wound, hence meaning *battle, war*. The Cornish form is *Cad ;* the Armorican the same ; the Irish and Gaelic is *Cath*. This gives us fairly enough the first part of the word. In Cornish there is the active verb *treyle, to turn*, from *traillia*. If the root-form of this verb be in the affix of Catrail, it would mean simply *battle-turning*,

the idea of military defence. The etymology would thus point to a defensive line formed and named by a Cymric people, as we know the ancient dwellers in the district were. This of course is mainly an hypothesis, but a suggestion to be tested by the facts as far as we can find them. Possibly enough, however, it may be the key to the solution of a somewhat curious and much-debated problem.

The question arises as to the design of this work. There are really only two possible views regarding it—the one that it was intended for a road or roadway, the other that it was meant for a boundary-line, either peaceable or defensive. The first view, which may be called the Roadway hypothesis, has really nothing to recommend it, and is at variance with ascertained facts. This hypothesis may be taken as meaning that it was simply a road between two points, Torwoodlee and the Peel Fell, either having or not having to do with the forts on its line. This in either case is extremely improbable. The most ancient Border roads we know, apart from the Roman, are of a totally different character from the distinctive ditch and ramparts of the Catrail. That known as *The Thieves' Road*, for example, running across from Drummelzier on the Tweed into the valley of the Meggat, and so on to the southern hills, is a broad, perfectly well-marked, but flattened track. It has neither ditch nor rampart. Other tracks which have been highways long ere the dawn of Scottish history and down through its course, through forests of birch, hazel, rowan, and oak, are numerous on the Lowland hills across the moors. But not one of them is ever dug deep into the ground,

and not one of them has a bottom of only a few level inches. They never take the form, as the Catrail does, of the letter V. If, indeed, the design had been to make a road which from its concavity and power of keeping snow and forming a runnel for water for eight or nine months of the year—that is, a road that would have been no road—those early people would have made such a way as this, but not otherwise. It is, in fact, more nearly akin to a large open drain than a road. Besides, the level breadth at the bottom is so narrow that all idea of being primarily intended for a passage is precluded. Neither man nor beast could have passed along it, except in the strictest single file. A cow or donkey would not have walked in such a road for ten minutes, without trying to jump the lateral mound, and succeeding. The hypothesis of the roadway is backed by the allegation that it would afford concealment to those using it; but its course, often for miles over the faces of hills seen from all the country round, effectually disposes of this supposition. But it is forgotten that there was no need for concealment when this line was dug. It was a ditch carried through a dense forest,—the forest that clothed the centre of the Lowlands, and rendered them to a great extent impenetrable to Roman and Angle alike.

It has, however, been suggested that the Catrail was designed for a line of connection between the forts or fortified dwellings on its line. This does not advance matters in any way. No doubt it might be possible to pass along it from camp to camp; but this could never have been its primary purpose. We have numerous lines of camps on the Lowland hills, especially up the

sides of the valley slopes. These are often in a series, but we have no trace anywhere of such a line as that of the Catrail connecting them. Such a superfluous connection would never be made by a people through its own territory.

There is the notable fact, which alone is fatal to this theory of a roadway simple, or one for connecting the forts on the line,—the Catrail never stops to seek a ford, or turns aside to find one in places where this could easily have been done. It crosses rivers and numerous burns and waters—the Tweed, the Yarrow, the Ettrick, the Slitrig, the Teviot, the Cadderoun Water—but unless there is a ford in its line, it does not use one. It goes straight to the stream, and passes straight from it on the opposite bank. In several cases, especially at the Hoscote Burn, it actually touches the stream where its banks are most precipitous on both sides, while it could readily have found an easy crossing some few yards below or above.

We are thus led to consider the alternative hypothesis that the Catrail was a boundary-line between two peoples or tribes.

It is clear, I think, that if it was designed as a boundary-line, it was not drawn between peaceable tribes or by mutual agreement. It seems singular indeed that certain tribes—two perhaps—just at this point took it into their heads to dig a ditch and raise mounds for the long stretch of forty-eight miles in order peaceably to mark their simple boundaries, while we have no evidence whatever of any such toilsome and troublesome plan being adopted by the numerous tribes

of the same or another nationality in other parts of the Lowlands, or indeed anywhere else. Besides, it is not a boundary by natural lines, such as watershed, burn, or water. It sets at defiance those natural limits, runs right across country, across valley, moor, and hill-face. If a boundary at all, it is a forced boundary—one constrained by an opposing and aggressive foe on the part of people doing their best to retain the broken fragment of their territory.

Then we must take into account the hill-forts at the beginning and end of the line, and those along its course. These are even now very distinctly traceable in many places. They are frequently placed near a mountain spring, or within reach of a burn. Then where the line terminates or is broken on the top of the abrupt bank of a stream, there almost certainly a fort of large size is to be found, as at Rink, Raelees, Swinebraehill, Teindside Burn on the Teviot, and Cadderoun Water. These were clearly designed and arranged for purposes of defence, and they are as clearly parts of the original scheme. A military boundary, and nothing else, according to the ideas of the time, could this earthwork have been.

But apart from the inherent improbability of the peaceful boundary theory, the historical evidence is entirely against it. We know of no neighbouring tribes originally contiguous to each other on this line. At the Roman invasion, and during the subsequent occupation, the tribes to the north of the wall between the Solway and the Tyne were known as Ottadeni and Gadeni. The former occupied the district along the

eastern shore and the lowlands there; the latter held the mountainous country more to the west — mainly part of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peeblesshire. But this line of the Catrail could never have been a peaceful or other boundary between those tribes, because it was far to the west of what we know was their boundary-line. This included Jedburgh in the Gadeni. Then the Damnonii occupied what is now Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr, and held Dumbarton, Stirling, Menteith, Stratherne, and Forthreve or the west part of Fife.

The Catrail could not thus possibly have been the boundary-line to the west between Gadeni and Damnonii. The frontier town of the Damnonii nearest the Gadeni was Colonia, and this lay near the source of the Clyde, on the other side of the extreme boundary of what is now Peeblesshire. The Gadeni, as their next neighbours, thus occupied the whole upper valley of the Tweed to its source in the south-west. Here they found a natural boundary in the great heights which divide the valley of the Annan, the Clyde, and the Tweed. The chief seat of the Damnonii, I may add, was Coria, somewhere on the Clyde near Lanark. Is this represented in the modern Corehouse and Corra Linn? Obviously the Catrail could have formed no boundary, peaceful or other, between Ottadeni and Gadeni, or between the latter and the Damnonii; as little could it have had any relation to the delimitation of the Gadeni or Damnonii from the Selgovæ and Novantes of Dumfries and Galloway, for these never came further east than the line of the Esk. They barely touched the lower course of the Liddel. And there is no other alternative, so far as the original

tribes are concerned. A peaceable boundary-line is thus out of the question; a military boundary, or boundary of defence, running along the extremity of a territory, certainly it was.

This leads us to the question as to the date and the construction of this line of boundary and defence. Throwing out of account the early tribes of the Lowlands, we have the Roman occupation. But neither in the time of Agricola, nor later during this period, could it have served as a boundary-line. The Romans held the country from wall to wall. Gordon conjectured that it was drawn to mark the limits of concession of territory to the Emperor Severus about 210 A.D. But Severus already held the territory up to the Northern Wall, and his conquests were over the Meatæ, or dwellers on the plain between the Forth and the Tay. And certainly the work was not formed by the Romans themselves. It lacks entirely the Roman strength, precision, firmness, and thoroughness of grasp and execution; though it shows signs, as appears to me, of having been executed after the Roman occupation of the country, and by natives who had been in contact with Roman methods and work. It is, in fact, a somewhat imperfect imitation of the Southern Roman Vallum, not the wall, in the period after the Romans had left Britain in the course of the struggles which followed.

I was disposed at one time to think that this earthwork was due to the Picts of Lothian and the eastern side of Scotland. It is beyond all doubt that the Picts made incursions from the shores of the Firth of Forth into this region, and occupied it for certain periods of

time. They did so, even during the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. The work of Theodosius in 368 was to drive back the Picts and Scots from Lothian and the country immediately north of the Southern Wall, and this he successfully accomplished. Then again, in 383, there was a *devastatio* of this region by the same tribes, and they were again repelled by Roman aid. Other similar inroads continued after the Roman evacuation of the island, and led finally to the withdrawal of the Britons from this district altogether. They were, in fact, driven westwards from the plains of the Tweed and its tributaries, and sheltered themselves in the higher hills of the district. It occurred to me in these circumstances to suppose that this line of earthwork had probably been constructed by the Picts of the east against incursions from the Britons on the west; it may be both as a boundary-line and a line of protection for the lower valleys of the rivers flowing to the Eastern Sea. This, I still think, is in itself not an improbable hypothesis; and it has the confirmation, so far as it is worth anything, of the fact that the line of the earthwork had the name in last century of the *Picts Work*, or *Picts Work Ditch*, all along the border of Selkirkshire to a point on the Borthwick Water where it enters Roxburghshire. But, as I have said, I do not attach great importance to this designation as a proof of the Pictish construction of the work. The Southern Roman Wall was for long persistently called *The Picts Work*. It appears as such on nearly all the older maps, yet nobody would think of attributing the construction of it to them. Their connection with it was only attack and attempted destruction.

The main objection that has occurred to me to the Pictish theory is, that the line of the defensive work is on the eastern side of the hills. Had it been a work of the Picts, set up against foes on the west, and they had had possession of the hills, unquestionably they would have placed the defensive line either on the summit of the ridges or on the western side, facing their foes. Clearly the people who constructed this earthwork had possession of the hill-line. And as the work runs on the eastern and north-eastern slopes, I am constrained to think that it was carried out by a tribe holding the western area, and this could be only the Britons, as they were being gradually dislodged and driven backwards.

The probability of this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, as a rule, the forts on the line of the earthwork are on the upper or higher side, towards the skyline of the hills across which it runs. This shows that the holders of the defensive line were people living generally to the west or north-west, on which side their forts were naturally a strength to them and a protection against aggression on the earthwork itself.

It was, I think, the Cymri or Britons of what was afterwards known as Strathclyde,—the Strat Clud Wealas, —who actually constructed this earthwork, and constructed it as a defensive boundary against their Northumbrian assailants, call them Saxon, Angle, or Pict. In fact they were often all three, for the Saxons, the Frisians of the *Mare Frenessicum* or Firth of Forth, coalesced with the Angles of Bernicia and Deira in their mood of aggression and conquest, and the latter frequently combined with the Picts. The diggers of

this fosse, the heapers of the mounds, the builders of the forts at the commencement, along the line, and at its termination, were one and the same people, and these were the hardly pressed and back-driven Cymri of Strathclyde.

A turf wall, a *vallum*, was clearly regarded by the Britons as a means of defence, and used by them as such. It was, in fact, all they could construct. Its insufficiency does not disprove its purpose. But it was not, perhaps, so futile a defence as we may now inconsiderately suppose. For the work was in all probability from the first much more than a ditch and mounds. The Catrail was clearly, like other lines of the same sort, a palisaded line of defence. The statements of Cæsar in dealing with the Celts of the Continent point expressly to palisading the mounds of their camps as a characteristic feature of those works. And a very formidable means of defence such a device often proved.[1]

But we have further the express testimony of Bede to this fact of palisading. "Severus," he tells us, "thought

[1] The very term *vallum*, as from *vallus*, a stake or pale, actually means an earthwork or rampart set with palisades,—a palisaded rampart or entrenchment. (See numerous authorities given in White and Riddle.) *Murus* is literally a protecting wall, but it too was originally of turf or turf and stone. Varro tells us: "Aggeres qui faciunt sine fossâ eos quidam vocant muros." —(*R. R.*, i. xiv. 3.) This is how an *oppidum* of the Aduatici was fortified: "Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant: tum magni ponderis saxa et præacutas trabes in muro conlocabant."—(*De Bell. Gall.*, ii. 29.) Then "postea vallo pedum xii. in circuitu xv. milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant."—(*Ibid.*, ii. 30.) The "præacutas trabes"—that is, the stakes pointed at one end against the foe—form an essential and characteristic feature of the defence.

fit to divide the island, not with a wall (*murus*), but with a rampart (*vallum*); for a wall is made of stones, but a rampart, with which camps are fortified to repel the assaults of enemies, is made of sods cut out of the earth, and raised above the ground all round like a wall, having in front of it the ditch whence the sods were taken, and strong stakes of wood fixed upon its top. Thus Severus drew a great ditch and strong rampart, fortified with several towers, from sea to sea."[1]

Whether the statement about the work of Severus as a separate thing from the Roman Wall is correct or not, this at least is clear, that the common form of defence of the time was a ditch with palisading. Bede's description of the Vallum is exactly applicable to the Catrail. This latter work is only the Roman Vallum on a weaker scale—an imitation, in fact, at a later period of what the Romans had shown at its best. As the Britons were taught to imitate the weapons of defence of the Romans,[2] when Constantine left the island, so were they asked to follow the lessons of mural defence. Both of them they did very imperfectly. Hence perhaps, partly, the ready breaks in the work of the Catrail.

The Catrail, no doubt, generally runs on the slope of the hill considerably down from the summit line. This is very much the line of the Devil's Dyke, as described by Mr Vere Irving, who speaks of it as running "mid-brae," and not rising to the top of a spur of hill, across which it runs. It has been argued from this that such a line could not have been intended for a military defence; for a divergence of a few yards would have

[1] *Historia*, i. v. (Giles' edition). [2] Gildas, *Historia*, xiv.

enabled the defenders of the rampart to command the approaches from the valley, instead of thus leaving themselves open to surprise from the other side.

This argument seems to me to be of but slight force. It assumes, in the first place, that the vigilance of the defenders is located wholly in the rampart or dyke itself. It forgets, in the second place, the shelter and security from storm which a position "mid-brae" would give as compared with one on the exposed summit of the hill. Besides, it is found that the rising ground along the Catrail is universally to the west, or westwards of the rampart—that is, within the territory to be defended. The ditch is at the foot, so to speak, of the defending host, and in front of the invader; and the place sloping upwards to the summit of the hill is exactly what would afford standing-room for a band of men ready to fight for their territory and stop advance across their frontier line.

An objection to a line such as the Catrail or the Devil's Dyke being intended for a defensive military work has been taken on the ground of its extent. The Catrail is close on fifty and the Dyke close on sixty miles in length, and it is argued that the amount of force needed for guarding it would be so great as to preclude the idea of military defence. But let us suppose that the people lived on the line, as they usually did high up on the hills — suppose it was an *enceinte* round their course of frontier forts—then we can understand how they might be able readily to defend the whole line.

The general relations of Angle and Cymri in this

district, the character and position of the Catrail, indicate that it was the defensive work of the latter people. The Angles were the aggressors from the east; the Cymri the defenders on the west. The character of the line itself points to it as a constrained not a natural boundary-line. It follows no range of hills, no line of valley or watershed, except at broken intervals. It crosses in the most artificial manner sloping ranges of hills and water-courses. It keeps the heights when it can, always running right under the highest tops of the hills, with these generally to the west of it. It looks exactly like a boundary made by tribes in a district who had been driven backwards into their native wilds, but were determined still to maintain what of their territory they could.

Before Rydderch Hael succeeded in 573 in consolidating the kingdom of Strathclyde, we know that the Cymric area extended down the Tweed to a point a little east of Calchvynyd or Kelso, that it ran along a line from this point across the Bowmont Water to what is now Wooler, followed the ridge of the Cheviots (Montes Ordelucorum) south-east and then south-west along their whole line to their dip in the valley of the Liddel, then went southwards in a varying line across the Southern Wall to Derwenyd or the Derwent. But this territory to the east and south very soon came to be encroached upon by the Northumbrians. There was indeed a retrocession and then recovery of ground on the part of the Cymri. But in the century immediately succeeding Rydderch Hael their fortunes were at a low ebb, and part of their territory was occupied by the aggressor.

Æthelfred of Northumbria, one of the most formidable opponents of the Cymri, cut off the Northern Britons from their kinsmen in the south by the battle of Chester in 607. Before that, in 603, he defeated the combined forces of Aidan, King of the Scots of Dalriada, and the Strathclyde Britons, at Degsastan, recognised as Dawstane, a place on the southern boundary-line between Strathclyde and Northumbria. From the locality of the battle and other circumstances, it is almost certain that Æthelfred had already occupied or rendered tributary Strathclyde south of the Solway—that is, the district between the Derwent and the Solway. He was now pushing into the heart of Strathclyde proper. Æthelfred's successors, Oswald and Oswy, in the seventh century further harassed the Britons, and no doubt encroached on their territory. It was not until the fall of Ecgberht at Nechtan's Mere, when the supremacy of Northumbria was fatally damaged, that the Britons of Strathclyde, along with the Picts and Scots, recovered their territory and independence.

In the map of "The Four Kingdoms," which represents Scotland at the beginning of the seventh century[1]—that is, immediately after Æthelfred's great victory over the Scots and Britons at Degsastan—the line of the Strathclyde kingdom has shrunk westwards to the headwaters of the Yarrow, Ettrick, and Tweed, and they have lost nearly the whole of the Cheviots as a southern boundary. In fact, they have been driven into the high hills of the central Lowlands, still of course keeping their country to the west and north, and still stretching

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 228.

southwards to the Derwent, in the way at least of occupying that territory. After this date, too, we learn that, while still retaining their independence, they made no attack on the Bernicians for more than thirty years. This was a period of comparative quiet, and the tribe of Strathclyde was wholly on the defensive. This, I think, was the period when the Catrail was constructed, and it formed the defensive boundary-line of their now shrunken territory. And this line, I further think, continued to be the limit of the Strathclyde kingdom on this side for at least two hundred years; for in the map of "The Monastic Church" of the eighth century [1] the boundary of the kingdom to the east remains the same as in the earlier period. The Angles of Bernicia remain on their frontier as the aggressive occupying race. The fact that this battle of Degsastan, so disastrous to the Britons, was fought at a point now known to be on the line of the Catrail, is suggestive, if not a positive proof, of the occupation by the Angles of their territory up to this line along the hills.

This seems to be the most probable date and purpose of the formation of the ditch and ramparts of the Catrail. It represented the shortened boundary of the Britons, though now consolidated into the kingdom of Strathclyde—Damnonii, Gadeni, Ottadeni of Ptolemy, all of Cymric speech. The territory to the north of the Southern Wall, and westwards to the slopes of the mountains of Teviotdale, Ettrick, Yarrow, and Tweed, was held by the encroaching Angles of Bernicia. The defeated Britons were glad to withdraw westwards to

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 178.

their high and remote mountain fastnesses. They now threw up this work as a boundary-line, in haste perhaps, with breaks and difficulty. They flanked it as frequently as they could with their rude rounded hill-forts, and behind the line they patiently waited the issue of events. There in the high solitary mountains, even within the line, they had many posts of strength. Their dwellings on the braes and in the haughs even were numerous, as their remains now show. They had, besides, ample and strongly fortified camps to which they could withdraw with cattle, women, and children in case of sudden or serious assault. But this ditch of the Catrail was their outside line of defence, and however imperfectly constructed, amid obvious natural difficulties, yet with their nimbleness, readiness to descend on their crescent line of rampart and hill-forts, they would doubtless prove a formidable foe to Angle combination. And this they did through many centuries, for it was not until fully four hundred years after the date of the rampart that they were merged, not in the Angles of Northumbria, but in the mixed Scandinavian and Angle people of the Lowlands of Scotland; and their long-maintained independence finally passed away, not through hostile conquest, but through a natural absorption in the princedom of Earl David, and then in the monarchy of Scotland.

CHAPTER VIII.

CYMRIC WORSHIP—EARLY CHRISTIANITY—NINIAN—KENTIGERN—CUTHBERT.

THE religious worship of these early Cymri of the Tweed, and the efforts made to bring them to Christianity, recall to us names that figure dimly in the early history of this northern part of the island. Their worship was what is known as Druidical, that is, it was a nature-worship, darkened by a mysterious haunting belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice. They were lovers, and probably worshippers, of hills, rivers, and fountains. They raised and venerated stones, or rather, amid their stone-circles on the sunny hillside, they worshipped the sun-god, the representative of the brighter side of nature —Baal, the fire-giver—and to him on the hill-tops they lit the fire on a day in the first week of May, the Beltane. The word still survives by the Tweed; the practice was not dead in last century. It has suggested to Motherwell a fine allusion:—

"The fire that's blawn on Beltane e'en
May weel be black gin Yule;
But blacker fa' awaits the heart
In which fond love grows cule."

The day in May on which the Beltane festival was held varied considerably. The first day of the month was the usual one, but we have also the second and third days as the time of the celebration. In the Highlands of Scotland it was usually the 1st of May. In the charter to the burgh of Peebles in 1621, granted by James VI., Beltane Fair is to be held, according to custom, on the 3d May, called Beltane Day. The fair was to last for forty-eight hours. This day was also regarded as Rood Day. The word is clearly derived from *Bel* or *beal*, the Celtic god of light, and *tin* or *teine*, fire. In Irish and Gaelic it is called *bealtine, beiltine;* it is also written *beltan, beltein, beltin.* The *Bel, beal,* or *beil,* is not directly *Belus,* but one of the proper Celtic deities—Gaelic *beal,* Welsh *beli,* and in old Celtic, *Belenus, Belinus.* Cormac, Archbishop of Cashel about 908, is the first to mention the celebration under the name of *Beiltine.* Two fires were kindled closely adjoining, and between them people and cattle passed or were driven, in the belief that health and prosperity were thus to be secured. This passing through the fire was a Druidical rite, and accompanied by solemn incantations. According to Toland, there were three *bealtines* in one year—viz., 1st May, Midsummer, and 1st November. Curiously enough, it was customary up to last century to light large fires called *taanles* in the Strath of Clyde on Midsummer-night. Among the Bretons Beltane was celebrated on the 1st May and 1st November.[1] We have still in the Lowlands numerous names of places and hills with the root *Bel;* and *Needislaw* and *Needpath*

[1] See especially Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie,* iii. c. xx. s. 512. See also *Beltyne* in Sibbald's *Glossary, Chron. Scot. Poetry,* iv.

very possibly refer to the Baal or *Need-fire* (*Nöt-feuer* or *Nöd-feuer*). The Need-fire of the Celts and Teutons alike obviously connects itself with the Baal or Moloch fires of Asia, and with the Palilia fires of the early Romans. Besides the ordinary function of yielding prosperity, they were also regarded as plague-staying. Into them at first were flung human victims, latterly the effigies only.[1]

In the shadows of the woods the Cymri knelt in awe before the darker powers of the world, or sought to propitiate them by secret gruesome sacrifice; for, besides the *Stone of the Sun*, they, like the Caledonian Gael, had the *Stone of the Cymbals*, the notes of which were meant to drown the voices of the sacrificial victims. Forest-worship, or rather the worship of deity in the forest, was both early Celtic and Teutonic. The temple, etymologically and really, was originally the forest. Celts and Teutons equally believed that their deities inhabited the groves.[2] The life and strength of the lofty tree—the grace of the waving bough—the gleam and shade of the leaves—the awe, the gloom, and the solitude of environment, all suggested the sacredness, even divine sanctity, of a forest dwelling, where the godlike presence could be felt if not seen. To do away with this condition of worship was a constant effort on the part of the early Christian Church; and to this end it was not uncommon to hew down tree and grove. Though the druidical worship implied reverence for tree and forest, the term *druid* does not seem to be derived from δρῦς, an oak, but

[1] See *Contemporary Review*, February 1878, 527.

[2] Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς.—Maximus Tyrius. Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, c. iv.

from *drŷ*, magus, magician, or enchanter, and this again is from the Celtic *draoi*, magician, pl. *draoithe*, whence the Latin *druidæ*.[1]

The Council of Tours, in 567, admonishes the Britons for their nature-worship, their reverence of stones and worship of fountains—"Veneratores lapidum, excolentes sacra fontium admonemus."[2] To them also the air was full of spirits, and sons were born to these of their daughters—earthly, and yet superhuman in powers and sympathies. Of such was the weird Merlin, who could bend nature to his will, assume what shape he chose, and foresee the future; restless withal, unhappy, maniacal, as holding in him a divine and human element that were unreconciled. This type of character arose from an inherent craving in man to be, somehow or other, the master of nature. Now we rule the world by a knowledge of scientific law; then men sought to rise above it as the lords of invisible powers. Controlling or dogmatic system of thought there was none in this early religion. Its powers were simply natural impressions, soul-impulses, the feeling of an unsubdued earth; varied, bright, and dark, soothing in sunshine, and awesome in storm and in overshadowing fears. Doubtless there would be vileness, brutality, cruelty; for unregulated naturalness leads to all that. We must have the rule of conscience, as well as the power of sense, in order to get true manhood. But there were touches of refinement, culture, superiority to low impulses—an

[1] See Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, iii. 34, § 866.

[2] *Concilia Galliæ*, Baluze, 110. Quoted by De la Villemarqué, *La Table Ronde*, 46.

inspiration from the soft and tender side of things. In the very earliest Cymric poems of the sixth century, there is love of the sweet spring blossom of the apple-tree, love of the fountain and of the forest shade, and a sense of soothing from the continuous yet fitful rush of the river in the long silence of the summer night. There was a good and pure element there which, renewed for a time in Chaucer, afterwards disappeared in a great measure from the course of the later literature of the country; and it has only come to its full development, if it really has done so, in our own time. God was to these nature-worshippers at least no isolated or otiose Deity. They sought and found Him in their daily life and daily round of impressions.

It is remarkable enough that the Caledonians north of the Forth, be they Scot or Pict, had points of worship closely in common with the Britons of Strathclyde. In fact, the worship of the island now called Britain pointed in these early times unmistakably to a common, and probably an Eastern, origin. The Caledonian Gaels appear to have had a superstitious reverence for mountain and river. They felt them to be enduring and surpassingly strong, while human life was but feeble and transitory. Hence they worshipped those objects of nature. We have names indicating the sense of power inscribed on mountains. Beinn-bhreac (Benvreach, Benvracky) is "the spotted mountain." In Sutherland, *cli*, from *clith*, strong, is joined to this, and we have "the strong spotted mountain."[1] Then, sun-worship seems to have been universal among the ancient Caledonians north of the

[1] Robertson, *Gaelic Topography of Scotland*, 224.

Forth. In Bernera, an island in the parish of Harris, there is a circle of stones, and in the centre of it there is a large one called "Clach na greine," *i.e.*, the stone of the sun.[1] And we have a marked approximation to the Druidic rites of the Strathclyde Britons in "Clach-na-tiompan," the stone of the cymbals. *Clach*, a stone, *clachan*, a circle of stones, so constantly to be met with in the Highlands, refer apparently to a place of worship. In North Uist we have "Clach mohr a Ché," the great stone of Ché, the deity of the Caledonian Gael. Even now, or at least lately, one Highland man meeting another would say—"Are you going to the stones?" meaning, Are you going to worship?[2] That all this kind of religious feeling was Eastern, we have many significant hints. Annat or Andate was the goddess of victory, commemorated, for example, by a large stone in the Isle of Skye. She is mentioned by Dio and Origen. She was worshipped by the Assyrians and Persians. The name still remains in various parts of the Highlands.[3] Curiously enough, in a charter of James VI. to the burgh of Peebles, there is preserved the name of Annat's Hope, not far from the town. In the view of some writers, there are traces of two forms of early Celtic worship. The one was polytheistic, and elevated natural phenomena and powers to the place of gods: the other was pantheistic, and regarded the divine or soul of the world as pervading all things. The former was the cult of the older Celts or Gauls; the latter of the Cymri, or branch of the same race which followed the earlier in the order of mi-

[1] Robertson, *Gaelic Topography of Scotland*, 270.
[2] *Ibid.*, 271. [3] *Ibid.*, 265.

gration. There is a pantheistic ring about the *Battle of Godeu* (the Trees), relating to Gwydion ap Don :—

> "Not of mother and father
> When I was made
> Did my Creator create me.
> Of nine-formed faculties,
> Of the fruit of fruits,
> Of the fruit of the primordial God,
> Of primroses and blossoms of the hill,
> Of the flowers of trees and shrubs,
> Of earth, of an earthly course,—
> When I was formed." [1]

In either case, the worship was after all a nature-worship; the immediate or sensible object being merely a symbol of one or many unseen powers. It is probable, further, that both forms of belief continued to subsist side by side. We have the name of a (or the) god of the Gadeni preserved on two stone altars washed out of the bank by the river Reed, at Habitancum or Risingham, and discovered in 1607. On the one the dedication is "Mogonti Cadenorum," on the other, "Deo Mouno Cadenorum." Mogo or Mogon has been identified with the Mao of India.[2]

It was among these nature-worshippers that the first Christian missionary on Tweedside carried on his labours. It was not until the twelfth century that there began to arise in Scotland a secular clergy or a parochial system. Previously to that time, Christianity was spread and sustained in the country only by individual missionary enterprise. The Cœnobite system, or "the family," was the prevailing one; the religious house, monastery, or abbey,

[1] *Four Books of Wales*, i. 281.

[2] See Camden, *Britannia*, xi. 203, and Jeffrey, *Roxburghshire*, i. 169, 185.

planted in the most fertile part of a wide district, as, for example, Melrose, in the haughs of the Tweed—for the abbey was ancient even in the time of David I.—sent out zealous teachers and preachers into the surrounding wilds of forest and hill.[1] From his White House by the sea, St Ninian, or St Ringan, the teacher of Pict and Scot, had apparently, about the beginning of the fifth century, partially reached the pagan Cymri of Tweeddale. His name is associated with Tudval Tutclud, father of Rydderch Hael. This king or prince among the Cymri had, according to the legend, been struck with blindness for his opposition to the saint. Ninian restored him to sight, and the king became thereupon his friend and disciple. The light that shone in Ninian's day was probably evanescent enough. I am not aware that there is any surviving memorial of him in the district.[2]

St Ninian had been dead for some time; his tomb by the Molendinar had made the spot sacred, and near it there had arisen "an earthen rath and wattled church," to be superseded, yet perpetuated, many centuries afterwards by the noble and still untouched Cathedral Church of Glasgow. The missionary cause in the Borders was now, towards the middle of the sixth century, taken up by a young and zealous apostle of Christianity, the devoted Kentigern, better known as St Mungo, "the Beloved." Amid much that is mythical, there is a quite definite historical element about Kentigern. He was the

[1] Innes, *Early Scottish History*, 9.

[2] Ringan's Haugh, near Peebles, has been supposed, with probability, to be named, not from the saint, but from an old possessor, viz., Ninian Lowis. See Mr Robert Renwick's most careful and interesting volume, *Gleanings from the Burgh Records of Peebles*, 266.

son of Theneu, the daughter of Loth, King of the Lothians; the father a relapsed Christian, "vir semi-paganus," the daughter an ardent but indiscreet devotee of the Christianity of the time. The mother had been committed by the enraged Loth to the sea in a wicker boat near Aberlady, but, after a stormy struggle, the waves gave her up alive in the bay of Culross. On the shore of that bay, according to the legend, "at morning dawn, by the side of a smouldering fire which shepherds or fishermen had left on the shore, with a bundle of twigs for her couch," her son was born. The child was baptised by St Serf,[1] and Kentigern was thenceforwards devoted to an ecclesiastical life.

Kentigern, with the ardour of the youthful convert, seems to have assailed the Druidic cultus in that part of Strathclyde, where height of mountain and depth of forest, in themselves favourable to the Druidic feeling, rendered the district least accessible to new influences. He spent eight years of his ministry at Lochquharret, or Locherwart. This district, called also Loquharriot, is on the north side of the watershed which divides the feeders of the South Esk and the Tyne from those of the Gala. Borthwick Castle occupies the site of the ancient Mote of Locherwart. No doubt *Heriot*, formerly *Heryeth*, enters into all those names, though the places lie north of Heriot and the Heriot Water. Kentigern taught also the doctrines of Christianity in the central part of the Wood of Caledon, what is now Tweedsmuir, or Tweed-

[1] Mr Skene places St Serf or Servanus a century later, in the time of Brude—who died in 706. But there seems to have been two saints named Servanus—the instructor of Kentigern being the earlier one, who had come under the influence of Palladius.

shaws. Adopting the Druidic notion of the sacredness of the fountain, wells were consecrated to him—or, it might be, the well in which he baptised was dedicated to his memory. We have, or had, St Mungo's Well on the slopes of Venlaw, by the Tweed. The church of Stobo—a mother church, or *ecclesia plebania*, comprehending the chapelries of Lyne, Broughton, Kingledoors, Dawyck, and Drummelzier—was apparently founded by him, or subsequently dedicated to him.

At length, when Christianity became strong enough to conquer the old paganism, the missionary of Tweedside became the Bishop of the Borders, a position which he occupied until his death in 603. His name is associated with churches in nearly every Border county, and these the oldest in the district. His memory was a quickening power in the land down to the time of David I., when, as Prince of Cumbria, in 1116, he made the famous *Inquisition* into the possessions of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow. We have references to him, chiefly as St Mungo, all through the middle ages. He was, indeed, pre-eminently the Saint of the Clyde, the Tweed, and the Teviot, up to the Reformation. I cannot forbear quoting one reference to him—it is so characteristic of the mixture of quiet scorn and humour which marks the Border character. In the fifteenth century a pestilence threatened to cross the Border from England into Scotland, and the English were good enough to say that it was sent upon the Borderers by God's grace for their repentance, whereupon a prayer was formulated and repeated fervently and generally among the Scottish Borderers: "Gode and Saint Mungo, Saint Ronayn, and Saint Andrew, schield

us this day fro Goddes grace, and the foul death that Englishmen dien on." [1]

After Kentigern came St Cuthbert. Cuthbert is said by some to have been of Irish descent, but we first find him a shepherd boy on the braes of the Leader, then in the kingdom of Northumbria, or North-hymbra-land, that bordered on Strathclyde, and touched it near Galashiels. In the vale of the Leader, about 651, where afterwards the seer of Ercildoune had his fairy visions, the fervid shepherd boy saw one night angels descend from heaven, and then bear upwards the soul of Aidan of the Holy Isle. This led him to devote himself to a religious life, and he became an inmate of the Abbey of Melrose, then presided over by the zealous Boisil. After the death of Boisil from the plague, in 664, Cuthbert, who was then in the Abbey of Ripon, was recalled to Melrose, and became the Prior or head of the monastery, the original house which was founded by Aidan of Lindisfarne, who died in 651. The brief history of this early house, from its foundation until it was burned in 839, is rendered illustrious by the names of Eata, Boisil, Cuthbert, and Drycthelm. It was a home of learning and of pious zeal in a very dark period of our history. The more recent and more splendid Abbeys of David I. and Robert Bruce show, through their much longer annals, no name superior if equal to even one of those that rendered honourable the early and humbler house. Cuthbert has left some faint traces of his missionary zeal on Tweedside. It was his practice, we are told, when Prior of Melrose, to be absent

[1] Quoted by Bishop Forbes, *History of Scotland*, vol. v., Introduction, p. cii. See Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, i. 20.

from the monastery for weeks at a time, dwelling and preaching in the remote solitudes of the Border hills. And it was his habit "to frequent most those places, to preach most in those villages which lay far in the high and rugged mountains, which others feared to visit, and which by their poverty and barbarism repelled the approach of teachers." [1] The zealous preacher must have penetrated well into the wilds of Tweedsmuir, for there, by one of its most solitary mountain burns, remains at least the name of Chapel Kingledoors, founded by him, or, soon after his death in 687, dedicated to his memory. When we come downwards in the centuries to the days of charter evidence, we find attached to a very early document, of the year 1200, the name of Cristin, Heremita (hermit) of Kingledoors,[2] one who apparently devoted himself to study or teaching, after the Columban fashion, in that sequestered country. The spot made sacred by St Cuthbert had thus preserved its sanctity for nearly six hundred years, until the rise of the parochial system. His memory was further preserved in the churches of Glenholm and Drummelzier, which were dedicated to him.

Cuthbert subsequently became Prior, and then Bishop of Lindisfarne. *Marmion* has made us all acquainted with Saint Cuthbert's miracles, and the changes of his resting-place. He was buried, first of all, in Lindisfarne, in 687, but the descent of the Danes in 793, who nearly destroyed the monastery, made the monks flee to Scotland

[1] Beda, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. c. 27, quoted by C. Innes, *Early Scottish History*.

[2] *Divise de Stobbo, Reg. Glasg.*, i. No. 104.

with the body of the Saint. After carrying about the body for seven years without finding a satisfactory resting-place, they brought it to Melrose, where the Saint had spent his early years. After remaining at Melrose for a short time, intimation was made to the monks of the will of the deceased bishop, that he should be launched upon the Tweed in a stone coffin. The coffin, according to the legend, floated down the stream with the relics, and landed at the mouth of the dark and sluggish Till as it joins the Tweed. There, in a small chapel, it found a temporary resting-place. He was finally buried in the eastern extremity of the choir of Durham Cathedral. The tomb was opened in 1827, 1139 years after his death.

"Nor did Saint Cuthbert's daughters fail
To vie with these in holy tale;
His body's resting-place, of old,
How oft their patron changed, they told;
How, when the rude Dane burned their pile,
The monks fled forth from Holy Isle;
O'er northern mountain, marsh, and moor,
From sea to sea, from shore to shore,
Seven years Saint Cuthbert's corpse they bore.
They rested them in fair Melrose;
But though, alive, he loved it well,
Not there his relics might repose;
For, wondrous tale to tell!
In his stone coffin forth he rides,
A ponderous bark for river tides,
Yet light as gossamer it glides,
Downward to Tilmouth cell."[1]

His intense activity continued apparently after his final burial, for we are told—

[1] *Marmion*, c. ii. s. 14.

"Fain Saint Hilda's nuns would learn
If on a rock by Lindisfarne
Saint Cuthbert sits, and toils to frame
The sea-born beads that bear his name:
Such tales had Whitby's fishers told,
And said they might his shape behold,
And hear his anvil sound;
A deaden'd clang—a huge dim form,
Seen but, and heard, when gathering storm
And night were closing round.
But this, as tale of idle fame,
The nuns of Lindisfarne disclaim."[1]

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[1] *Marmion*, c. ii. s. 16.

CHAPTER IX.

MERLIN.

It is at the great epoch of 573—the consolidation of the Cymri into the kingdom of Strathclyde — that a figure flits before us, shadowy indeed, yet apparently real, leaving a name around which are associated early myth and mediæval romance as richly as around that of Arthur himself—I mean the weird Merlin. The grave of Merlin, bard, seer, enchanter, wizard, is still pointed out on the bank of the Powsail Burn, the burn of the willows, near where it joins the Tweed below Drummelzier kirk. The tradition is that in his later days he lived a wandering life on the wild hills of the Wood of Caledon in Upper Tweeddale, until he met his death under the clubs and stones of the shepherds of Meldred, a regulus or princeling of the district.

A careful examination of the poems in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, and of the subsequent historians and romances, have led me to the following as the historical view of this potent and mysterious personage. There were apparently at least two men of the name Merlin. The earlier of the two was called Merlin

Ambrosius, Aurelius Ambrosius, Myrdin Emrys. By some he was identified with Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, by others with Uther Pendragon. He, like the second Merlin, was reputed a wizard, born of a virgin and a spirit of the air. To this Merlin, Vortigern is said to have given up a city on the summit of Snowdon, and all the provinces of the west part of Britain, so that he became "rex magnus inter reges Britanniæ." Historically, he seems to have been a Guledig or leader of the Britons.

But the Merlin of Upper Tweeddale is a somewhat later and a different personage. He was called by the Welsh Myrdin Wyllt, or Merlin the Wild, Merlinus Sylvestris, or Woodland Merlin, and Merlinus Caledonius. He was reputed the son of Morvryn, and he had a sister Gwendydd, a name meaning the Dawn, whiteness, or purity, and redolent of the nature-worship and the poetry of the time. I see no reason whatever for supposing that the name Merlin did not refer to a real person or persons more than that the other names of the time were purely fictitious, even such as Ninian, Kentigern, or Columba. Direct evidence of a personality corresponding to the name will appear as we proceed; but I cannot concur in the opinion that there was but one person of the name, and that the same man who was contemporary with Aurelius Ambrosianus was also present at the battle of Ardderyd in 573. This, however, is the opinion of the Count Hersart de la Villemarqué in his very interesting book on *Myrddhin or Merlin*. But apart from other considerations, this seems to me impossible on the ground of the dates alone. Aurelius Ambrosianus comes into

prominence as the successor of Vortigern about 457, and disappears in 465. If the Merlin of Ardderyd had been his contemporary, he must have been a great deal more than a hundred years old at the date of the battle; and yet we know that he survived this contest for many years. In the poem of the *Avallenau*, speaking of himself he says:—

> "Ten years and forty, as the toy of lawless ones,
> Have I been wandering in gloom among sprites."

Making allowance for poetical exaggeration, it is quite clear that the Merlin who was present at Ardderyd, and who wrote these lines, could not have been the Myrdin, or Merlin the bard, soothsayer, and enchanter, of Ambrosianus; or, for the same reason, of Vortigern himself. Nay, I go further, and say that he could not have been the original of that enchanter Merlin who was the ally of Uthur Pendragon, and who is credited with presiding over the birth of Arthur, and with the wondrous achievements of necromancy associated with this prince and his exploits. A man who died in 623 or later, as appears from the *Avallenau*, could not be born in 470 or 480, as Villemarqué supposes. This date, I may observe, is too late for his connection with Aurelius Ambrosianus, and it is too early for the man who survived to the close of the sixth century. It follows either that the true Merlin and his exploits are antedated, or that there were two Merlins. The latter, I believe, is the true supposition; and the mythical attributes of the earlier Merlin have been assigned to the latter, while a third wholly legendary Merlin arose in the imagination of the romancers of the eleventh century.

That the Merlin of Ambrosianus and Vortigern was really distinct from the second Merlin, is further proved by the circumstances of name and birth. The first Merlin, the *vates* of *Ambrosianus*, is called *Myrdyn Emrys* or *Merlinus Ambrosius;* the second is named by the Welsh *Merlinus Caledonius, Silvestris, Wylt,* or *the Wild;* and in the *Polychronicon* these are regarded as wholly distinct persons. Myrdin Emrys is born of a nun or vestal virgin and an *incubus* or spirit of the air. He is a god or devil incarnate. Belief in relations of this sort was fixed in the popular mind of the time, and it is countenanced by St Augustine: indeed, the word *Myrdin* (or Merlin) is said to indicate this descent. According to Mr Nash it is originally *Mab-lcian, Mac-leian, Mab-merchleian.* This was Latinised as *Merlinus, Mellinus, Merclinus.*[1] Villemarqué takes the same view as to the origin of the name, but runs it back to the classical *Marsus.* Now Merlin Caledonius had no such origin. He was clearly regarded as the son of Madog Morvryn, who was descended from the great Cymric family founded by Coel Godebawc, and was nearly related to the historical and famous Urien Reged. Merlin had, moreover, a twin-sister, Gwendydd, who is constantly associated with him in his life, sufferings, and poetry. This by itself is sufficient to mark him off from Merlin Ambrosius.

If this be so, it follows that the second Merlin, or Merlinus Caledonius, is the author or reputed author of the poems attributed to the person of the name, as this author was undoubtedly present at the battle of Ardderyd, was the friend of Gwenddoleu who fell there,

[1] *Introd. to Merlin*, p. ix.

knew Rydderch Hael, the King of Strathclyde, met Kentigern, and generally was identified with the civil life of the period towards the close of the sixth century. In this case he is brought very close to us as a personage who lived within the bounds of the first-known historical kingdom in the valleys of the Clyde and Upper Tweeddale,—a haunter, in fact, of the *Coed Celydon* or *Wood of Caledon.*

One word in passing regarding the first Merlin or Myrdin Emrys. He has been confounded with the King Aurelius Ambrosianus; but it is clear that he was quite a distinct person. The parentage of Aurelius Ambrosianus is obscure, but it would seem that he was of Roman descent; in fact, a Romanised Briton, and his mother probably a vestal virgin. Hence there arose regarding his birth, as respecting that of Myrdin Emrys, the notion that he too was born of a spirit of the air, which seems to have been the mode accepted at the time of accounting for certain irregularities. The Merlin of Ambrosius was also, and probably first of all, the *vates* of Vortigern. When Vortigern practically deserted the national cause, Merlin would seem to have attached himself to Ambrosius, the new leader,—the leader, in fact, of the Romanised Britons who dwelt mainly in the Roman cities, as yet, in great measure, intact. Vortigern is said to have given to Ambrosius a city on one of the summits of Snowdon; but this is incorrect in point both of the gift itself and its actual locality. It was not a city, but a fort or *dinas* which was given; and it is not situated on a summit of Snowdon, but on an isolated eminence in the valley of Nant Gwynant (the Valley of Waters), on the south side of Snowdon, and about a mile from

Beddgelert, and known even now as *Dinas Emrys*, or Fort of Ambrosius.[1] This eminence and fort are traditionally associated with Myrdin Emrys, and the probability is that it was he upon whom the gift was conferred either by Vortigern or Aurelius Ambrosianus. Certainly it was here, according to the legend, that Myrdin Emrys poured forth his prophecies and forebodings as to the future of his country:—

> " Qui sua vaticinia
> Proflavit in Snaudonia,"—

while Vortigern sat anxious and brooding by the stream which winds through the valley at the base of the hill. If stretch of lake and rush of stream below, grandeur of rock and peak above, the silence and the shadow that lie in the depths of cloven and precipitous *cums*,—the voice of the mountain as it sends its waters to the valley in the soft summer-tide, or as it swells in winter when the wind assails its changeless strength,—could ever touch the heart of man, and link it to the supernatural, this must have been, in an impressionable age, especially the function of the land which nourished the bard and seer of Dinas Emrys.

> " Pierce then the heavens, thou hill of streams,
> And make the snows thy crest!
> The sunlight of immortal dreams
> Around thee still shall rest.
>
> " Eryri, temple of the bard,
> And fortress of the free!
> Midst rocks which heroes died to guard,
> Their spirit dwells with thee!"
>
> —Mrs Hemans: *Eryri Wen* [Snowdon].

[1] In the *Polychronicon* the site of the " Collis Ambrosii " is erroneously given as at the source of the Conway.

It was Merlin Caledonius who was present at the battle of Ardderyd in 573. He was on the side of the defeated pagan Cymri under Gwenddoleu. Gwenddoleu himself was slain, as was also Merlin's nephew, the son of his sister Gwendydd. The nephew, indeed, is said to have fallen somehow under the hand of Merlin himself. After this disastrous battle, and the loss of his friend and patron Gwenddoleu, Merlin fled to the upper district of the Tweed, the heart or centre of the Wood of Caledon, and passed the remainder of his life, reputed insane, among the glens of the great broad hills then clothed in birch, hazel, and rowan, which in crescent fold sweep from the Dollar Law to the Broad Law, and form the watershed between the burns that flow northwards to the Tweed and those that run southwards to the Meggat Water. There is no wilder or more solitary mountain-land in the south of Scotland than these high-spreading moors; there is no scene which could be more fitly assigned to a heart-broken and despairing representative of the old Druidic nature-worship, at once poet and priest of the fading faith, yet torn and distracted by secret doubts as to its truth, and not knowing well where his beloved dead had gone, or what was their fate in that mysterious spirit-world he felt was above and around him.

I know no more picturesque or suggestive episode in history or in fiction, than that of the reported meeting between Merlin and Kentigern amid the birk and hazel shaws on the upland wilds of Tweeddale, when the young apostle of Christianity pressed on the nature-worshipper the claims of the new faith. One day the

saint was kneeling in solitary prayer in the wilds of Drummelzier, when a mysterious figure suddenly stood before him, weird-like, unearthly in look, "with haire growing so grime, fearful to see," terrible as an embodied fury. The saint boldly asked him who and what he was. The reply was: "Once was I the prophet of Vortigern [Gwenddoleu], Merlin by name, now in this solitude enduring privations. . . . For I was the cause of the slaughter of all those who fell in the well-known battle of Ardderyd, which took place between the Lidel and Carvanolow."[1]

After a time the bard passed from the sight of Kentigern, more wildered, weary, and perplexed than before, to chase, if that might help him, the gleam and shade on the hills, and seek his heart-solace in the pulsings of the burn and in communion with the creatures of the wilds.[2]

> "Ah! well he loved the Powsail Burn,
> Ah! well he loved the Powsail glen;
> And there beside his fountain clear,
> He soothed the phrenzy of his brain.
> The wayward music of the stream
> Found echo in the Poet's heart;
> The fitful pulses of the burn
> As broken rhythm of his art!"

There is every ground of probability for holding that the Tweeddale Merlin, or Merlin the Wild, is identical with the Cymric bard of the sixth century, certain of

[1] Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, l. iii. c. 31.

[2] The reader may compare Waldhave's *Prophecies of Merlin*, referred to by Scott (*Minstrelsy*, iii. 201). Waldhave was lying on Lomond Law, and he saw Merlin:—

> "He was formed like a freike [man] all his four quarters,
> And then his chin and his face haired so thick
> With haire growing so grime, fearful to see."

whose poems have come down to our own times. The incidents of the poems are precisely the incidents in the life of the Caledonian Merlin. There are two existing poems of Merlin the Bard, which relate to the battle of Ardderyd, at which he was present. We have them in the original Cymric, in the ancient and famous *Black Book of Caermarthen*, Nos. I. and XVII. The first is in the form of a dialogue between Merlin and Taliessin, who is reported to have been Merlin's master or instructor, and who is the most celebrated of the four Welsh bards of the sixth or seventh century. It is a wail for the loss of the battle.

> "Seven score generous ones have gone to the shades;
> In the Wood of Celyddon they came to their end.
> Since I, Myrdin, am next after Taliessin,
> Let my prediction become common."[1]

The other is the oldest existing form of the poem attributed to Merlin, the *Avellanau*.[2] It is a series of predictions regarding Cymric history, delivered in his character of prophet-bard. In it we have some curious glimpses of the poet himself, and in it too we have the hints of subsequent mediæval traditions, and of those mythic features which the romancers of Brittany and of the middle ages afterwards ascribed to the historic Merlin. Seated at the foot of an apple-tree, in the Wood of Caledon, he sings:—

> "Terrible to them were heroic forms.
> Gwendydd loves me not, greets me not;
> I am hated by the firmest minister of Rydderch;
> I have ruined his son and his daughter.

[1] Skene, *Books of Wales*, i. 368. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 370; ii. 335, Notes.

Death takes all away, why does he not visit me?
For after Gwenddoleu no princes honour me;
I am not soothed with diversion, I am not visited by the fair;
Yet in the battle of Ardderyd golden were my torques,
Though I am now despised by her who is of the colour of swans.

. . . . . .

Sweet apple-tree which grows by the river side!
With respect to it the keeper will not thrive on its splendid fruit.
While my reason was not aberrant, I used to be around its stem
With a fair sportive maid, a paragon of splendid form.
Ten years and forty, as the toy of lawless ones,
Have I been wandering in gloom among sprites.

. . . . . .

Sweet apple-tree that grows in the glade!
Their vehemence will conceal it from the lords of Rydderch,
Trodden it is around its base, and men are about it.
Sweet apple-tree, and a tree of crimson hue,
Which grows in concealment in the Wood of Celyddon;
Though sought for their fruit, it will be in vain,
Until Cadwaladyr comes from the conference of Cadvaon,
To the Eagle of Tywi [Tweed] and Teiwi [Teviot] rivers;
And until fierce anguish comes from Aranwynion,
And the wild and long-haired ones are made tame."

This is one of the oldest poems in British literature; and it comes to us now as a sad wail from the depths of the Wood of Caledon, a note highly characteristic of that emotional Cymric temperament, which is powerful in impulse, daring in the onset, but, when baffled or defeated, is not effective in resource—rather finds relief in sentiment, in bewailing and denouncing the harshness and the hardness of the adverse order of things.

Cadwaladyr, the son of Cadwallawn, was the great hope of the Cymric race; and under his father, who died in 659, the century succeeding Merlin, the Cymri had a short-lived success against their Anglo-Saxon opponents. But this hope of the Cymri was

extinguished by the death of Cadwaladyr, in the pestilence of 664.[1]

Of Merlin personally we have one interesting notice in the verses of his friend and master Taliessin:—

> "And the load that the moon separates,
> The placid gentleness of Merlin."[2]

In other words, the bard, in his lucid intervals, was gentle as the fair light which the moon sheds abroad in heaven, through the break of the cloud which passes over it.

In the twelfth century, a Life of Merlin in Latin hexameter verse appeared—(*Vita Merlini Caledonii*, 1150). It is attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth. By this time the mythic element had grown in a great measure round the historic character. Geoffrey represents Merlin, and, doubtless, on the ground of local tradition, as frequenting a fountain in the wilds of the Caledonian Forest. The fountain is on the summit of a mountain; it is shaded by hazels, and girt round by low copse-wood, or shaws. There Merlin was in the habit of sitting and gazing on the wide expanse of woods around him. He watched the sportive movements of the creatures of the wilds, seeking thus to soothe the phrenzy of his brain.

As late as the time of James V., Merlin the Wild was in popular repute as prophet and bard. Sir David Lindsay amused the youthful king with "The prophecies of Rhymer, Bede, and Merlin." Certain prophecies of Merlin were current, and believed to have had their

[1] Skene, *Books of Wales*, i. 73. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 534.

fulfilment about that period. This was especially true of his prediction regarding the death of the Regent Morton :—

> "In the mouth of Arran a selcouth [wonder] shall fall,
> Two bloody hearts shall be taken with a false traine,
> And derfly dung down without any dome."

The heart was the cognisance of Morton; and he was committed before his trial to James Stewart, the new Earl of Arran. In the execution of Morton there was fulfilled, according to popular belief, Merlin's "falling of the heart by the mouth of Arran." [1]

These and other prophecies of Merlin, like those attributed to the Rhymer, were, of course, simply either mythical elaborations, or forgeries for political purposes of later times.

Merlin the Wild, in his wanderings, was haunted by a female form, known originally as Hwimleian, or Chwifleian, meaning "the gleam." This figure would appear and then disappear before him. She sought to shut him up, as he imagined, in one of the lonely crags of the hills, there to have him in her power, and to hold him for ever in bonds of affection. We can well understand how the phrenzied imagination of the bard saw this figure in the glint of light that struck through the mist overhead; and how he watched it pass away across the glen as the hill haur darkened over the face of the sun; how he would dread it lurking in the shadows of the hazels, and see it in the moonbeams as they made lustrous the clear waters of his fountain. There can be no doubt that the Hwim-

[1] *Minstrelsy*, iii. 206.

leian of the bard Merlin, the haunter of his life among the hills, the inspiration of

"The fosterer of song among the streams,'

became the Vivien or Nimiane of the mythic Merlin and of the mediæval romances. The sun-glints through the mists of the Drummelzier Laws have, in their personified and sublimated form, illumined the long, flowing stream of Romance through mediæval and modern times down to our own day. Therein the figure has assumed the form of the subtle tempter, seeking by low inducements to enthral the seer, to master his kingly intellect by working on his moral weakness. And very variously has the story of her method of success been figured. According to one account,[1] his Nimiane having gained the secret of his art, imprisoned him in a tower whose walls were neither of iron nor stone nor wood, but of air made adamantine by enchantment, in the far depths of the wood of Broceliande. Out of this tower he can never pass; but she, knowing the secret of the enchantment, may come and go to him as she pleases. Once, and once only, after his imprisonment, was his voice heard on earth, when he told a wandering knight, his friend, that this was his eternal doom, and prayed the knight to seek for him no more among living men. Again, according to Sir Thomas Malory,[2] his lady-love Nimiane, wearying of him, fearing him as a devil's son, wormed his art out of him, got him to go under a great rock, "to let her wit of the marvel there," and then contrived to shut him in,

[1] *Merlin*, English Text Society, 1450-60, iii. 681.
[2] *Morte d'Arthur*, b. iv. c. i.

and so left him—a very excellent method, when it is possible, of getting rid of a troublesome lover.

The latest poetic form in which Merlin appears is in the "Vivien" of Tennyson, in the *Idylls of the King*. The picture is a pretty close copy of the lower or degraded conception of the Merlin of the middle ages. This is a composite of the two historical Merlins, and something more. He is mysteriously born, a spirit's son; he is wizard, yet Christian, and not pagan. His highest principle is serving Arthur by his wizard arts, regardless of the laws of truth and the dictates of morality. He is, in fact, the impersonation of intellectual subtlety, subordinate to a narrow, even low, sense of moral law, unless we regard the advancement of Arthur and the Arthurian idea as the inborn law of his life, the realisation of which redeems all the violations of ordinary morality. Vivien, wicked, artful, cunning, cloaking her ambition in the guise of love, plies her woman's wiles, and finally succeeds in gaining the knowledge of his secret art: it is coarse temptation conquering transcendent intellectual power:—

"A storm was coming, but the winds were still,
And in the wild woods of Broceliande,
Before an oak, so hollow, huge, and old,
It look'd a tower of ruin'd mason work,
At Merlin's feet the wily Vivien lay.
. . . . . .
She set herself to gain
Him, the most famous man of all those times,
Merlin, who knew the range of all their arts,
Had built the King his havens, ships, and halls,
Was also Bard, and knew the starry heavens,
The people called him wizard. . . .
For Merlin once had told her of a charm,
The which if any wrought on any one,

With woven paces and with waving arms,
The man so wrought on ever seem'd to lie
Closed in the four walls of a hollow tower,
From which was no escape for evermore,
Nor could he see but him who wrought the charm,
Coming and going, and he lay as dead,
And lost to life and use and name and fame.
And Vivien ever sought to work the charm
Upon the great Enchanter of the Time,
As fancying that her glory would be great
According to his greatness whom she quench'd."

After describing the various wiles which Vivien used, we are told the issue thus :—

"She called him lord and liege,
Her seer, her bard, her silver star of eve,
Her God, her Merlin, the one passionate love
Of her whole life ; and ever overhead
Bellow'd the tempest, and the rotten branch
Snapt in the rushing of the river-rain
Above them ; and in change of glare and gloom
Her eyes and neck glittering went and came ;
Till now the storm, its burst of passion spent,
Moaning and calling out of other lands,
Had left the ravaged woodland yet once more
To peace ; and what should not have been had been,
For Merlin, overtalked and overworn,
Had yielded, told her all the charm, and slept.
Then, in one moment, she put forth the charm
Of woven paces and of waving hands,
And in the hollow oak he lay as dead,
And lost to life and use and name and fame."

I cannot help thinking that the historical Merlin was a far higher personality than this representation embodies. The enchanter and bard of the sixth century was no commonplace Solomon to fall before vulgar temptation. The conception of him as the typical man of his epoch—a man torn and distracted by doubts regarding the old

Druidic faith, and yet not quite able to embrace the new creed of Columba and Kentigern, fondly turning to the hills for solace—is more true historically, and it is a far finer conception than anything either in Malory or Tennyson. And further, the Hwimleian,—the gleam, the early love of Merlin,—is, so far as we can judge from the poems, not in the least the Vivien of Tennyson. The Merlin of history and of the Merlinian poems is a wholly different personage from the Merlin pictured in the mediæval romances and pretty closely copied by Tennyson.

The simple tradition of Tweedside regarding the fate of the seer, is that he lies with Arthur and his knights in the enchanted halls under the purple Eildons, in a sleep that shall never be broken until the mythic sword be drawn and the mysterious bugle sounded. Perhaps

> "They have to sleep until the time is ripe
> For greater deeds to match their greater thought."

Leyden, in his too-little-known poem, *The Scenes of Infancy*, has finely touched this old belief and expectation of the Cymri, which originated apparently with the poet-seer, the woodland Merlin :—

> "Wild on the breeze the thrilling lyre shall fling
> Melodious accents from each elfin string.
> Such strains the harp of haunted Merlin threw
> When from his dreams the mountain-sprites withdrew ;
> While, trembling to the wires that warbled shrill,
> His apple-blossoms waved along the hill.
> Hark ! how the mountain echoes still retain
> The memory of the prophet's boding strain !
> Once more begirt with many a martial peer,
> Victorious Arthur shall his standard rear,

In ancient pomp his mailèd bands display ;
While nations wondering mark their strange array,
Their proud commanding port, their giant form,
The spirit's stride, that treads the northern storm.
Where fate invites them to the dread repast,
Dark Cheviot's eagles swarm on every blast." [1]

Of the prophecies attributed to Merlin, one, at least, may be regarded as having a certain and never-failing fulfilment. Speaking of the wild scenery amid which his later days were passed, "Lady," said the bard, "the flesh upon me shall be rotten before a month shall have passed; but my spirit will not be wanting to all those who shall come here." [2]

Whatever we may think of this solution of these early days, the problem dimly felt then is even now a pressing one for us. We must now still ask how we are to reconcile or to interpret harmoniously the impressions of nature—the scientific sense of what it presents to us, the imaginative sense of what it suggests to us, its literal and its symbolical aspects—with the supersensible personality which every normal human heart must feel somehow pervades it. How are we to conciliate natural feeling with supernatural emotion? was the question of the reflective nature-worshipper among the Druids. It is not less the question for every reflective man in this nineteenth century; and I am afraid we are not much advanced beyond the sun-worshippers of a thousand years ago on the Tweeddale hills.[3]

[1] Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy*, 300, 301.

[2] *Prophecies de Merlin*, F. 76.

[3] On the subject of Merlin, see further two papers contributed by me to the *Journal of the British Archæological Society*, 1889, and *Merlin and other Poems*, 1889.

CHAPTER X.

CUMBRIA AND SCOTLAND UNDER DAVID I. AS PRINCE AND KING, AND DOWN TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER III., IN 1285-86.

From the seventh to the eleventh centuries, there is much obscurity over the course of history in Scotland. When the light begins to dawn in the eleventh century, and brighten in the twelfth, the features of the country are very different from the original Cymric and Pictish period. In the north of the Forth there is evidence that a fusion has taken place between Scot and Pict—the former gaining supremacy, and giving the name Scotia or Scotland first to that part of the country, and then to the whole land.

To the south of the Forth, or Scots' Water, in what is now known as the Lowlands, there are signs that the Angles of Bernicia—including mainly Berwick and East Lothian—have become the dominant race in population and in language. The Cymri of Strathclyde have still a distinct appellation as Cumbrenses, and the Picts, or probably mixed Gaels of Galloway, are known as Galwenses; but they are being fast merged in the Angle

population, which is spreading over the entire Lowlands. While the western Gael or Scot had apparently gained the civil supremacy of the country, the Border Angle was really the moulding and civilising element. He was spreading his customs, his laws, and his language over conquering Scot, and subject Pict, and the now loyal Cymri of the Tweed and the Clyde.

From the time of Malcolm Canmore there had been an immigration from England of Angles and Saxons into Scotland, especially into the valley of the Tweed, and the Lowlands generally. These strengthened the powerful Angle element already existing in Bernicia. They were attracted to the representative of the Saxon monarchy; they felt the pressure of the forest and feudal laws; and they added to the Anglo-Saxon speech of the Lowlands. True to the Saxon instinct of individual liberty, they sought in the north, under the kindlier rule of Canmore and the Saxon Princess Margaret, the freedom they could not have in the south. The sons of Malcolm and Margaret, particularly the youngest, David I., favoured their coming. The spirit thus engendered against Norman rule and the feudal usages of England lived in the breasts of the descendants of those immigrants. And this it was which, transmitted and strengthened by tradition, gave intensity to the hatred of the Lowlander against Edward I., and ultimately drove his son into that ignominious flight from Bannockburn to Dunbar. Edward had no doubt what some may regard as enlightened views of government. They were, however, of a somewhat imperial and arbitrary sort, and the enlightened element in views, pressed upon

a people at the point of the sword, is apt not to be greatly appreciated. The spirit of the War of Independence was an Anglo-Saxon hatred of the feudal Norman of the south. It was manifested especially in the Lowlands of Scotland. It met with no sympathy, rather opposition, from the Gael of the Highlands, who had far more affinity of feeling with what it confronted than with what it sought, and who was indifferent as to what king reigned south of his mountains. Yet it was this spirit which fused the mixed elements of population on the Lowland plains and hills during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries into one nationality. It is that which has given the Lowland Scot his character of stern individuality, self-reliance, and stubborn independence—qualities which have done excellent service, but which sometimes with him assume so pronounced a form of self-assertion, when no one is questioning his dignity or importance, as to be slightly disagreeable. It is the well-spring, too, of that deep and full current of popular ballad and song, reflecting national feeling and personal prowess which, passing on through the centuries to our times, has risen and increased, until it has found its widest sweep in the lyrics of Burns, and in the prose and poetry of Scott. Our first great national epic was *The Bruce* of Barbour, our greatest national lyric is *Scots Wha Hae,* our last and greatest national epic is *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

Besides the influx of the common people of the south, there was also, from the time of Malcolm Canmore, a pretty constant immigration of good Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman families from Northumbria and other

parts of England. These settled at first in the Lowlands, and many of them afterwards passed into the central and northern parts of the kingdom. This immigration was especially encouraged by David I., who no doubt looked on it as a means of civilisation, and of promoting the influence of the Church, to which he was so strongly attached. At the Battle of the Standard, under David, in 1138, we have, besides the Britons of Strathclyde, who formed the second division of the army, the Galwenses, or men of Galloway, who were in the front place. These were "usually termed Picts, but they were a Gaelic people. The third division consisted of Laodonenses, or Angles of Lothian, with the Insulani and Lavernani, or people of the Isles and Lennox.[1] The king had in his own division the Scoti, or people of the districts extending from the Forth to the Spey; the Muravenses, the newly conquered Gaelic people of Moray; and a body of 'milites Angli et Franci,' or Anglic and Norman knights, who formed his own body-guard." [2]

We find these national distinctions preserved considerably later than the time of David. In the reign of his successor, Malcolm IV. (1153-1165), we have the King of the Scots addressing the people of the land as—"Francis, Anglicis, Scotis, et Galweiensibus." [3] And again the same king addresses them as—"Francis et Anglicis, Scotis, Walensibus, Gauelensibus." [4] Among

[1] Almost certainly Scandinavian.

[2] *Historians of Scotland*, iv., Fordun's *Chron.*, Int., lii, liii.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, i., No. 12, *temp.* Malcolm IV. *De Ecclesia de Veteri Rokesburgh.*

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 12.

the witnesses to these documents are the leading men of the period—Somerville, Umphraville, Morville, Lindsay, Riedale (Riddel), Soulis, Olifard, Avenel, Cumin, Colville. Orm, the son of Eilaf, and his son John, appear almost like stray Norsemen among the Anglo-Normans. Possibly Ormiston on the Tweed, now Glenormiston, was his *toun* for some generations.

It was out of a fusion of the races indicated by those designations that what now bears the name of the Scottish nation arose. It was especially to those "milites Angli et Franci" that David gave estates on Tweedside. These Angles, Normans, and, we may add, Flemings, soon held, under feudal investiture, from David and the succeeding kings of his line, nearly all the lands along the Tweed and its tributaries. Each settler fixed the limits of his *vil* or *toun*, "built himself a house of fence, distributed the lands of his manor among his own few followers, and the *nativi* whom he found attached to the soil, either to be cultivated on his own account, or at a fixed 'ferm' on the risk of the tenant."[1] Beside the *toun*, each built a mill and a brew-house. This accounts for the innumerable and utterly superfluous mills to be found till lately in the heathery glens of the Lowlands.

The kings of the Anglo-Saxon race of Malcolm Canmore thus attached to themselves by a close tie the barons and landowners of the country. The old Cymric stock in the south, and, in a measure, the Gaelic race in the north, were superseded as lairds or *domini* by men more intimately allied in feeling, sympathy, and blood with the reigning house.

[1] Innes, *Early Scottish History*, 10.

The public document which throws most light on the principality of Cumbria at this period, and on the fusion of races which was going on in the Lowlands, is the memoir or *notitia*, which records an investigation, directed by David while Earl of Cumbria, regarding the lands and churches belonging to the Episcopal See of Glasgow. It is entitled, "Inquisicio per David Principem Cumbrensem de terris Ecclesie Glasguensi pertinentibus facta."[1] Its supposed date is about 1116. David succeeded to the throne in 1124. John, the tutor of David, became the first Bishop of Glasgow under the new ecclesiastical system in 1115. As the deed refers to him as bishop, the inquisition must have taken place between 1115 and 1124. The first part of the deed contains a statement made by its framers, in presence of the Prince and his Court, of the tradition and belief of the country at the time regarding the history and possessions of the Cathedral Church. It is said that Kentigern settled a colony of converts in Glasgow in the middle of the sixth century. The five *juratores*—"seniores homines et sapientiores totius Cumbriae"—"the older and wiser men of all Cumbria"—then record on oath their belief regarding the possessions of the Church. Cumbria itself is described as a region situated between England and Scotland—"regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam sita." Part of the original kingdom had already been given up to England—viz., that south of the Solway to the Derwent, including Carlisle. The remainder or Scottish portion had become the Bishopric or Parochia of Glasgow. The Inquisition recalls the

[1] See *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i., No. 1.

foundation of Glasgow, the pontifical seat or See of Cumbria, by the "domestici fidei" and the "proceres regni," co-operating with the king of the province, "cum rege provincie." This refers to the time of Kentigern and Rydderch Hael. The Church and religion flourished for some time under the many successors of Kentigern. At length, however, a (or the) fraudulent exterminator (fraudulentus exterminator) arose — probably Satan himself—and by his craftiness wrought unbearable injuries (scandala intolerabilia) upon the Church of the Cumbrians. Diverse troubles arising, the whole district was laid waste, and the inhabitants sent into exile. A long time having elapsed after this, tribes of various nations, flowing into it from different parts, occupied the deserted district. These people, differing in race, language, and mode of life, did not readily amalgamate, and were heathen rather than faithful worshippers (gentilitatem potius quam fidei cultum tenuere). Even now they are represented as living more like beasts than men. In order to restrain their excesses, and introduce among them some sense of morality and civilisation, and the knowledge of saving truth, God in His providence has sent David among them, the brother-german of Alexander the King of the Scots, as their prince and duke (principem et ducem). David again has appointed his tutor, John, a man devoted to God, to be their bishop. After his consecration, he has spread the preaching of the Word through the diocese (parochiam) of Cumbria. David, both in his capacity as Prince of the district, or at least of the part under the Scottish crown, makes the inquisition for the purpose of ascertaining accurately the

ancient possessions of the Church, with a view to their restoration to the See. The oath of certain of the older and wiser men of the whole of Cumbria is taken as to their knowledge and traditional belief on the point, and the result is a list declared by them of the lands and churches belonging of old to the pontifical Church of Glasgow.

The ejection of the Cymri referred to in the Inquisition was either not complete or not permanent. It is obvious that neither the oppressions of Æthelfrid, Osuiu, nor those of Angus MacFergus had destroyed the British nationality. In 875, we are told, in the Saxon Chronicle, that Halfden the Dane frequently harried the Picts and the Stratcludenses or Stratclud Wealas. And we see that down to David's time, and, as we shall find, even later, the inhabitants of Cumbria are recognised as a distinct nationality. Their laws were known as peculiar even down to the time of Edward I., when we hear of the "Laws of the Bretts and the Scots."

Among other lands found in the inquisition to belong of old to the Church of Glasgow, are Stoboc, now Stobo, Penteiacob, otherwise Penjacob, now Eddleston. In Pobles [Peebles] there belong to the Church "una carucata terre et ecclesia"—"a ploughgate of land and a church"—dedicated to St Kentigern.[1] This ploughgate was probably the land afterwards known as the Kirklands, adjoining St Andrew's Church. In Treverquyrd [Traquair] there also belong to Glasgow a ploughgate of land and a church. These possessions were no doubt as old as the time of Kentigern. The names of the jurymen

[1] Compare also Innes, *Early Scottish History*, 6.

(*juratores*) are as follow: Uchtred filius Waldef, Gillielmus filius Boed, Leysing et Oggo, Cumbrenses judices, Halden filius Eadulf. These are obviously natives of the province, and they are Angle or Saxon, at least Teutonic. Have we any traces of them in the middle ages or now? Boed may possibly be Boyd or Bold. Halden remains on Tweedside still, and may be traced back in the Burgh Records of Peebles all through the middle ages until our own time. Eadulf is to be traced in Eadulfstoun, now Eddleston. The others have passed quite traceless away. They are simply dim figures in the early dawn of Scottish story—men who could remember through their fathers the early Cymric and Saxon traditions of their country.

Curiously enough, while the jurymen are wholly Angle, the witnesses to the oath are partly Angle or Saxon, and partly Norman, the latter predominating. We have three Cospatricks, probably of Dunbar. Cospatrick has been regarded as originally meaning servant of Patrick. But the family was now to all purposes a feudal family, holding their lands in Scotland by the new tenure, and found almost always on the side of lordly aggression and domination. We have Osolf filius Eadwin. There is Maccus filius Undweyn. This was subsequently Maxwell, the ancestor of the great lords Maxwell. The family held originally a small feudal barony on the Tweed. Then there is Uchtred filius Scot, perhaps the earliest mention of what afterwards became the famous Border surname. Then comes Ulchel filius Alstan. Hugo de Morvilla next occurs, and seems to head the list of Normans. He succeeded his father in the office of High Constable of

Scotland in 1159. He was Lord of Lauderdale and the father of Richard Morville, who possessed, though only in "ferme," from the Bishop of Glasgow, Gilmoreston, now Eddleston. Then there are Paganus de Brausa, or of Braiose, and Osbert de Ardena. Gervasius Ridel also appears. For long afterwards Riddel was a great landed name in Teviotdale, on the banks of the Ale Water, where it flows by soft pastoral haughs, far down from its wild source amid the solitary lochs of Alemoor. Then follow Guido de Caynes and Berengarius Engaine. Robertus Corbet, the next witness, held lands in Manor Water. Walterus de Lindeseya was a far-back ancestor of the "lightsome Lindsays," and his lordship at this time lay high up in the wilds of Clydesdale. Robertus de Burnevilla is supposed to be the laird of what was afterwards known as Burnetland, near Broughton, which the old family of the Burnetts held for several generations, along with their later and principal property, the estate of Barns. Some years later, as witness to the great charter of Holyrood, by David I., is Rodbertus de Burneuile.[1] Reinaldus de Muscans, Walterus filius Winemari follow. Willelmus Venator, the next name, was probably an ancestor of the storied line of Hunter of Polmood. Alanus de Perci needs no comment. The last is Walter de Broy. In a subsequent deed, before 1124, besides Corbet, Lindeseia, de Morevilla, Robertus de Brus, occurs Hugo Breton—either a man from Brittany, or a solitary example of the original people of Strathclyde.[2]

David gives a charter to Durham of Coldingham and

[1] *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, i. xvi.
[2] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, i. 8, No. ii.

lands in Lothian, "with sac, and soc, and toll and team, and infangethef," in 1126, in the second year of his reign, at Peebles ("apud Pebles")—that is, at the Royal Castle there, long one of the seats of the government of the kingdom. The witnesses are John the Bishop, Robert de Brus, Herebert the Chancellor, Ascelin the Archdeacon, Pagan of Braiose, Hugh Brito, Berengar Ingane, Gospatric the Sheriff, Aimar.[1] These are obviously all, or nearly all, Normans. The document, embodying the gift by David of the tenth of his Chan or Kane of Kyle and Carrick to the Church of Glasgow, is addressed to the barons, ministers, and all the faithful of his whole kingdom, "tam Gawensibus, quam Anglicis et Scotis." And among the witnesses there are obviously representatives of the different races—Willelmus Cumin the Chancellor, Hugo de Morevilla, Fergus de Galweia, Hugo Briton, Alwinus MacArchil, &c.[2]

The great Charter of Melrose, by David I.,[3] must have been given after 1143, for reference is made to the king and his son Henry having personally gone over the boundaries of certain of the gifted lands "the second year after Stephen, King of England, was taken." Stephen was taken prisoner in the battle of Lincoln, by the troops of Matilda, in 1141. It is very important to note, regarding this grant, that while the usual Anglo-Norman names are there as witnesses—viz., Moreville, Somerville, Lindsay, De Arden, Umfraville—we have a special set of witnesses who are described as "the men from that land." The lands referred to are those of Melrose, Eldune, Derne-

[1] *Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, i. xv. [2] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, No. ix.
[3] *Nat. MSS.*, i. xvii.

wic, Gattuneshalech (Gattonshaugh), Galtunesside (Gattonside), Seleschirche (Selkirk), and Trauequair (Traquair), and the names of the men are almost wholly Saxon. We have "Gospatrick the Earl, Ulfchill son of Ethestan, Osolf son of Huctred, Maccus son of Undwain, Huctred son of Sioth, Huctred son of Gospatric, Orm son of Eilaf, Eilaf son of Gospatric, Eduf son of Norman, Osolf son of Edive, Osolf son of Elfstan, Robert Brus Meschin, Radulph son of Turstain, Roger nephew of the Bishop. At Ercheldon in June." With only a few exceptions, these are Saxon names.

Willelmus de Sumerville appears as a witness to the confirmation of land to the Church of St John of the Castle of Rokesburgh. The date is somewhere before 1142, and it is given "apud Trauequair."[1] This was the ancestor of the line of "lordly Somerville," already apparently holding lands on the Tweed. He died in 1142. De Vesci, De Umframvilla, De Graham, Thor filius Sweyn, Baldewinus the Fleming, occur in the deed *De Ecclesia de Lohworuora* about 1150.[2] Ranulfus de Sules appears in the same document, but the scribe has scored out the name. He died before 1170. The nephew of this De Sules, also Ranulfus, succeeded him. His fate is the burden of popular tradition. "In the year 1207," says the Chronicle of Melrose, "Ranulfus de Sules was slain in his own house by his own domestics." It was this violent death which probably gave rise to the legend that the great and terrible lord of Hermitage was sodden in the cauldron on the Nine-stane Rig.

In a deed of David I. relating to Dryburgh, about

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, i. 10, No. v. [2] *Ibid.*, No. xi.

1150, we have, besides the usual Norman and Angle names, the somewhat rare Celtic Mackthumpethin, Mackbeth, Macktorphrin.[1] Mackbeth or Malbeth was a sheriff in David's time, and one greatly trusted by the king. This rather suggests that his policy was now to introduce the Gaelic element in the government of the country.

We have thus, even before the death of David I. in 1153, the most of the names which were afterwards either distinguished or illustrious in the history of Scotland. New names, evidently of Norman origin, crop up in the succeeding reigns down to the death of Alexander III. But we have evidence, at the same time, of a large substratum of Teutonic population, chiefly Angle, but partly Scandinavian, in the valley of the Tweed and its tributaries. The descendants of this class form the main body of the population of the Lowlands at the present day. About the year 1200, forty-seven years after the death of David, and while William the Lion was king, we have a very curious and interesting document, which has preserved both the names of places and of persons at that period in the valley of the Tweed, the central part of the old province of Cumbria. This is the *Divise de Stobbo*, or *The Marches of Stobbo*, preserved for us in the Chartulary of the Bishopric of Glasgow.[2] Stobo was at this time the property of the Bishopric, and it was necessary to settle the marches. I translate it as follows: "These are the right marches between Stobbo and Hopprewe and Orde. From the end of the burn of Polternam where it falls into the Tweed, up to the head of the same burn; and

[1] *Monastic Annals*, 312.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, i. 89, No. 104.

from its head as the ridge (*cilium*, eyelid) of the hill bears through between Glenmanthav and Glenmerlahv, continuously in Whiteshopes Fuirless, and thence through the ridge (eyelid) of the hill on to Ordeshope; and from Ordeshope through the ridge (eyelid) of the hill on to the head of Poltenstobbeh, and from the head of Poltenstobbo through the ridge of the hill on to Glemubfuirles, and so through the ridge of the hill between Glemubfuirless on to the burn of Glenkeht, and so descending as that burn falls into Biggar [Water]."

Stobo, Happrew, and the Urd in Ladyurd and Lochurd, represent certain of the names. The fine flowing name, Polternam, is unfortunately lost, though we can point to the stream it indicated. The pure Saxon Glenmanthav and Glenmerlahv have also unluckily perished. Still, with this deed in his hand, any one may now trace the boundaries of the ancient estate of Stobo, and the contiguous limits of Happrew and Orde.

But the main interest of the document attaches to the names of the witnesses, to the nationality indicated by them, and to their places of residence. They are as follows: "Dominus Adam filius Gilberti; Dominus Milo corneht; Dominus Adam filius Edolfi; Johannes Ker Venator aput Swhynhope; Gillemihhel queschutbrit aput t^{e}fquer; Patricius de hopekeliov; Mihhyn brunberd aput corrukes; Mihhyn filius Edred aput Stobbo; Cristinus heremita de Kyngeldores; Cospatricus heremita de Kylbeuhoc; Padinus filius kercau aput corrukes; Gillemur filius kercau aput corrokes; Christinus gennan serviens aput t^{e}fquer; Gylcolmus faber aput pebbles; Gylmihhel filius Bridoc aput Kyngeldures; Gylis filius Buht aput

drumedler; Gillechristus filius Danielis aput glenwhym; Mathheus, Jacobus, et Johannes, filii Cosmungho sacerdotis aput Edoluestone; Cospatricius romefare; Randulfus de Meggete; Adam de seles clericus; Gillechristus filius huttyng aput currokes; Gilbertus persona de Kylbeuhhoc; Gylmor hund apud Dauwic; Mihhyn senescallus de Dauwic; Dudyn de Brouhtune; Patricius filius Caswale aput Stobbo; Adam et Cosouold filii Muryn aput Castrum Oliveri."

The names of persons we cannot well trace for want of surnames, which were not common in Scotland until a later period. But there is, obviously, a great preponderance of Saxon names among the witnesses. Johannes Ker, the hunter, is probably British, the name of a native, from *caer*, a fort. In the Soonhope, or Swinehope, where he lived, is Caersman, the place of the fort. John's fort was probably there. Kercau is also apparently Cymric. Edolf is preserved in Edolfston, or Eddleston. He is probably the very Edulphus, son of Utrid, to whom Richard de Moreville, High Constable of Scotland, gave, before 1189, in fee for a knight's service, Gillemorestun, of old Peniacob—a property which Moreville merely rented from the Bishop of Glasgow.[1] Cosmungho, the priest at Edulfston, suggests memories of St Mungo. It may be noted, too, that the priest of Edulfston was the father of three sons, whose position and status were publicly recognised. Though David had worked energetically at establishing the law of priestly celibacy, the practice of clerical marriage seems not to have died without a struggle. We have another proof of this about the same date. Between

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, i., No. 45.

1180 and 1203 Osbert, the abbot, and the convent of Kelso, receive David the son of Peter, Dean of Stobhou, as his heir (in heredem ejus recepimus), and concede to him the land of Corroc, which his father held from the abbey.[1]

Adam and Cosouold, the sons of Muryn at Oliver Castle, might be Frisels, afterwards Frasers. They had Oliver at a very early period. But, in fact, Elifer occurs in connection with the Tweed during the period of Cymric history. The heremites at Kingledoors and Kilbucho suggest a well-known development of the ecclesiastical system of St Columba, in virtue of which certain of the brotherhood retired to sequestered places for meditation and prayer. We have Beccan the *solitarius* in 634. The life of the hermit was highly esteemed in the early Scottish Church.[2]

Queschutbrit is a puzzle. Is the affix Briton? Brunberd is probably Brown-beard. Gennan is a puzzle. Cospatricius romefare. What is this? Is he one who had distinguished himself by visiting Rome?[3] Or was he an accredited messenger between the district and Rome? Gilmor hund apud Dauwic is also puzzling. Would he be hund-meister? Mihhyn senescallus de Dauwic is, of course, the Steward. With regard to the places of residence of the witnesses, the case is different. These were chiefly estates, and most of the names have come down by record and tradition to our own time.

[1] *Liber de Calchou*, Carta 112.

[2] Compare *Historians of Scotland*, v., p. cxxiv.

[3] Sigurd I., son of Magnus (Barefoot), was surnamed *Jorsalafare*—that is, traveller to Jerusalem—from his famous pilgrimage thither. He sailed in 1107. Akin thus to *Romerakar*.

Corneht we do not know. Swhynhope is now Soonhope. Trauefquer is now Traquair. Hopekeliov is Hop-Kailzie, and now Kailzie. Corrukes, Corrokes, is probably The Crook, though it then indicated a large property stretching north-westwards from near what is now the Crook across Clydesdale. There remain to the present day, with little change, the following: Stobbo (Stobo), Kyngeldores (Kingledoors), Kylbeuhoc (Kilbucho), Pebbles (Peebles), Drumedler (Drummelzier), Glenwhym (Glenholm), Edoluestone (Eddleston), Meggete (Meggat), Dauwic (Dawyck), Brouhtune (Broughton), Castrum Oliveri (Oliver Castle). This deed helps us to settle the etymology of Drummelzier, as Drum Medler, or ridge of Medler or Meldred.

It was thus there arose, as lairds or *domini*, holding of the crown for military service, the families that ruled on Tweedside down to the time of the War of Independence. Some of them kept their lands through this troubled period, and even under the Bruces and the Stewarts. Some, again, passed northward, and founded several of the great northern families, as the Gordons and the Frasers. As possessors of land in the valley of the Tweed, or in the glens of its tributaries, we have, partly before the War of Independence and partly after its close, charter records of Avenel, Baddeby, Balliol, Burnet, Bosville, Cockburn, Corbet, Comyn, Despencer, Douglas, Dunbar, Fleming, Friselle or Fraser of Oliver, Gordon, Home, Haye, Haig, Hunter, Haliburton, Horsbroc, Hastings, Inglis, Ker, Lindsay, Lockard, Melville, Moreville, Maxwell, Moaut (Mowat), Moray or De Moravia, Napier, Purveys, Riddell, Somerville, Soulis, St Clair,

Vache (Veitch), Vesci, and a few others. These families and their descendants housed themselves in the now mouldering peel-towers of the glens and hills, often beneath the shadow of the hill, crowned with remains of earthen raths and circular ramparts, within which the Britons of Strathclyde, now an almost effaced race, had defied winter storm and wild beast and wilder human foe for many centuries before.

Cospatric of Dunbar, who emerged out of the dim Northumbrian history, Fraser, lord of Oliver, Soulis, lord of Hermitage, and Lindsay, lord chiefly in Upper Clydesdale, were the most powerful men of the Lowlands at the period of the War of Independence. The Douglases rose on the fall or disappearance of Dunbar and Soulis. Scott, now so powerful in the Border counties, was as yet insignificant—a yeoman in a small tributary burn, not even a *dominus,* or laird proper.

Considering the importance attached since the time of Sir Walter Scott to the family of Buccleuch, it may be well to state the facts. Originally Scot of Scotstoun, a small property in Kirkurd, in Peeblesshire, one of this stock,—Richard le Scot,—acquired Murthockstone (Murdoston) in Lanarkshire through marriage with the heiress, and became of Murthockstone. He swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296 (28th August), and had then lands in Selkirkshire. His ancestors are said by old Satchells to have been buried in the Cross Church of Peebles. This burying could not have been for long, as the Cross Church was erected only in 1261. A son Michael, called Sir Michael, was killed at the battle of Durham in 1346. His son, Walter, held a tract of land lying

chiefly between the Rankilburn and the water of Tima, and was killed at Homildon in 1402. The son of this Walter, Robert, exchanged in 1415 a portion of this land, Glenkerry, with the monks of Melrose for Bellenden,—a bleak but beautiful moorland near the head of the Rankilburn,—henceforward to become the rallying-place and the war-cry of the Scotts of Buccleuch, for Ettrick and Teviot, through many generations. This excambion was confirmed by Peter de Kobburne (Cockburn), laird of Henryland (Henderland), who was superior of the lands given in exchange by Robert Scott, and then representative of a greatly more powerful family than that of the Scotts. In 1379 Robert II. had given a charter to Peter of Cokburne, the son and heir of Peter of Cokburne, of the lands of Henriland, and the lands in the township of Bothill, and the lands of Kyrkhurde in the township of the same.[1] Sir Walter Scott of Kirkurd, son and heir of Robert, had Buccleuch and other lands in Ettrick in 1446. He was the first styled "Lord of Buccleuch," and he added to the family possessions Lempitlaw and Eckford. In 1446 he exchanged Murthockstone or Murdieston for the other half of Branxholm, which belonged to Sir Thomas Inglis of Manor. Scott was thus an incomer in the Borders. The family never held lands off the old line of Douglas, as most of the other Border lairds did. Yet eventually Buccleuch was really made through the ruin and the heirship of the Douglases. This Sir Walter Scott, possibly through his cousinship with the Chancellor Crichton, sided with James II. against the Douglases,

[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 163, No. 11, and *Orig. Par.*, i. 187.

and on the 1st of May 1455 he is found at Arkinholm along with Angus—"the Red Douglas"—in alliance against the "Black," when the three brothers of the exiled earl, Moray, Ormond, and Balveny, were defeated, and the star of the ancient house of Douglas went down for ever. Scott, of course, was well rewarded for his services, getting part of the Douglas lands, and afterwards the creation of Branxholm into a free barony in blench for the annual *redditus* of a red rose. He had married Margaret Cockburne of Henderland, a daughter of the house under which he held the lands of Glenkerry. His son, Sir David Scott, married a daughter of the fourth Earl of Angus, and sister of Archibald "Bell-the-Cat." This brought to him the lordship of Liddesdale and the Castle of Hermitage, and the family was now made. His grandson, Sir Walter Scott, who succeeded after 1492, was the man who led the Scotts, Armstrongs, and Elliots, to the number of 600 men, against Angus, the Homes, and Kerrs, at Melrose in 1526, with a view to rescue, under secret persuasion from the king himself, his person from the keeping of the "Red Douglases." The tide of interest or fortune had now changed, and Scott was no longer on the side of the family who had helped, even made, him. He was defeated in the attempt and skirmish, but ultimately the favour of the king got him more lands—viz., those in the lordship of Jedburgh Forest. Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford fell in this skirmish, and through the blood-feud thus created Buccleuch was long after slaughtered by the Kers in the High Street of Edinburgh in 1552. In the person of this Sir Walter

Scott, the family thus rose into prominence in the sixteenth century. After the death of James IV., when the central government was weak, Scott managed gradually, though warded once for his aggressions, to get permanent possession of Ettrick Forest, the dower lands of the widowed Queen Margaret. Buccleuch was also aggrandised through the slaughter of Murray of Newark and Ettrick Forest, and the subsequent acquisition of part of the estates of the forfeited Francis, Earl of Bothwell. The Sir Walter Scott who succeeded his father in 1574, became the first peer of the family as Lord Scott of Buccleuch, and was the heroic actor in the ballads of *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodheid* and *Kinmont Willie*. He died in 1611. His son, Walter, was created Earl of Buccleuch in 1619.

Ettrick Forest was declared to be "inalienably annexed" to the Crown after the fall of the Douglases in 1455. This annexation soon came to mean very little indeed. There had been, and there were now, leases of separate portions of the land to certain holders,—the care-takers of the *stedes* under the Warden. The stedes had before 1502 taken the shape of some thirty separate farms or *fermes*—yearly rent paid to the Crown. After this, the alienation of the "inalienable" went on steadily. Before, and more rapidly after, the Union of the Crowns, feudal charters took the places of leases for a term, and the current *fermes*, or yearly tax, remained as a perpetual quit-rent or acknowledgment of the superiority. Thus the lands were given away, and the Crown could now derive no progressive benefit from increase of value.

In 1843 there were some thirty-three lairds holding

lands on this tenure. Among these are to be noted as principals, Buccleuch, Torwoodlee, Gala, and Philiphaugh. The annual rental of the Crown from the whole of the ancient domain of Ettrick Forest is now £235, 3s. $7\frac{2}{12}$d.

The Kers, or Cars, though of the native stock of the district, accommodated themselves to the feudal vassalage; and they come into prominence alongside of the Scotts, though usually as deadly foes. The lord of Home Castle, on the south slopes of the Lammermoors, and overlooking the Merse, was, after the Douglases, the greatest power in the Borders during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, down, indeed, to the Union of the Crowns.

A military vassalage was thus being constituted in the kingdom by David as his hope and defence against the barbarism and ill-assorted individualism of the time. No doubt this institution was an element of strength in the circumstances in which he was placed. But he could not be expected to foresee the limited and selfish nature of the interest he was founding in the country, and the power he was raising up against the prerogatives of the crown which he wore, and the influence of which he sought to consolidate and perpetuate. For no history shows more forcibly than that of the reigns of the Stewarts the counterpoising power of a feudal aristocracy alike to the legitimate influence of the people and the crown. Lauder Bridge, Sauchieburn, and Solway Moss show how the Scottish kings were obliged to bow their heads, sometimes in the utter agony of broken-hearted men, before the domination of the powerful feudal lords, whom the royal fiat had created.

This feudal aristocracy, moreover, was destined, some centuries afterwards, to play a part in an ecclesiastical revolution, which the pious David would have regarded as utter sacrilege. When the Church and those monasteries which he did so much to introduce into the country and to foster, were tottering to their fall at the Reformation, it was this landed class who controlled the policy of the time through their self-constituted Parliament, and under the convenient pretext of the process of Commendation, managed effectually to appropriate to themselves and their families the lands which the piety or the fears of five centuries had set apart for national and religious purposes.

While a military vassalage was thus rapidly forming, there was the growth of another social influence which was destined to become almost as strong as that of the feudal aristocracy. It has proved, at least, to be that power in the country which has coped with it on nearly equal terms. This was the rise of burghal and municipal corporations. Towns, or aggregations of inhabitants, were constituted into burghs, with burghal privileges. The process went on rapidly in the reign of David; still more so, perhaps, in the reigns of his grandsons and successors, Malcolm (1153-1165) and William the Lion (1165-1214). The most of those burghs, especially along the Tweed from Jedburgh to Peebles, were walled towns. The burghs had privileges of trade and of commerce. They possessed common lands, out of which has arisen, through intrigue and violence on the one side, and degrading subserviency and treachery on the other, many a goodly estate, on which its first possessor probably

plumed himself as greatly as if it had been the reward of patriotic virtue. The burgesses had obligations of defence, of manning the wall, of military service. The "jowing" of the town bell would bring at any moment of the day or night, in each of those Border burghs, to the cross 500 men-at-arms. These were bound together, not by a tie of feudal vassalage, but by a sense of common interest in the defence of "the gude toun," of their goods and gear, and by a patriotic feeling for the central authority of the kingdom. There thus arose trained soldiers, owing no feudal obligations, looking to the monarch alone as their liege-lord. The noble part which the burghers of Selkirk and Hawick played at Flodden show how brave and staunch to their country and their king could be those workers in the peaceful pursuits of industry, notwithstanding the social contempt with which they were treated by an assumptive, arrogant, and illiterate aristocracy. And, on the other hand, they were not unfrequently destined to turn the tide of a hard-fought fight, when the sovereign had so far forgotten his relations to the nation he ruled, or was so driven by circumstances as to side with a feudal faction against the people. The crucial fight of Langside, where the blanket-banner of the guilds of Glasgow was more than a match for all the chivalry of the Hamiltons, with the unfortunate Mary at its head, is perhaps the most emphatic illustration of the power of the burghal element in Scottish history. The last of the Stewarts went down before it, and all that was left her of her kingdom and her patrimony was a night in Dundrennan Abbey, and the cruel mercies of the calculating Elizabeth.

Those burghal corporations were the centres of self-government, the needed lesson of the times. They were the citadels of popular liberty. They cherished the sense of freedom, when feudal lords were only oppressive. Out of them, while the crown and feudal vassalage were at strife, each seeking but its own interest, grew in a great measure the spirit of Scottish nationality which we now know and feel. Those municipalities, whatever be their modern character, are the symbols of a grand past, and they were the beginnings of a great growth whose expansion has been a national blessing.

"In a country," says Mr Cosmo Innes, "so distant, so naturally poor, more impoverished by misgovernment and internal discord, and the meddling of a powerful and grasping neighbour, we must not look for the extended dealings that dignify trade, nor for the refinement, luxury, art, which adorned the free cities of the Continent. Instead of these we may find something even more valuable, if we are able to trace to our free institutions, and to the burgh life that glowed from them, a sturdy independence and self-reliance, honest frugality, a respect for law and order, and an intelligent love of education, somewhat above our neighbours, which, I hope, still mark our nation.

"In the early literature of Scotland we have a worthy reflection of her history. Her first poet sung the achievements of Bruce. Her greatest satirist aimed his shafts at the corruptions of Rome. In the homely burghs of Scotland we may find the first spring of that public spirit, the voice of the people, which in the worst of times, when the crown and the law were powerless, and

the feudal aristocracy altogether selfish in its views, supported the patriot leaders Wallace and Bruce in their desperate struggle, and sent down that tide of native feeling which animated Burns and Scott, and which is not yet dead, however much it may be endangered by the childish follies of its quixotic champions. Whatever of thought, of enterprise, of public feeling, appears in our poor history, took rise in our burghs, and among our burgess class." [1]

[1] Innes, *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*, Pref., xlix.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BORDER ABBEYS AND CASTLES—DAVID I.

It was, further, in the time of David, as Earl and King, that Scotland first became formally incorporated with the great ecclesiastical system of Europe. The great religious houses, the abbeys and monasteries in the lower reaches of the Tweed—Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose—arose for the first time, or they were reconstituted with a munificence and splendour unknown before. Dryburgh was founded a little later, in 1150, by Hugh de Moreville, Lord of Lauderdale, and High Constable of Scotland, who succeeded his father in 1159, and died in 1162.[1]

The very ruins of these houses now strike us with wonder, admiration, and awe. We can trace how they grew from the conception of the early Norman and Saxon arched structure, the type of simplicity, mass, and strength, until, with this as a basis, they effloresced at a later period in the ornate yet chastened Gothic. As we dote over the picturesque beauty of the broken details which are left to us, and try to conjure up the great

[1] "Anno 1162, obiit Hugo de Moreville, fundator ecclesiæ de Drieburg."—*Chronica de Mailros.* But see below, 279.

unity which in each case they constituted, we cannot but feel that in those otherwise dim and barbarous early centuries, there was a sense of vastness and of regal magnificence in art which has not since then flourished as a genuine growth in our land, and that the power of imagination which could so embody itself was inspired by a deep and faithful state of the human soul, interpenetrated by the emotions of awe and grandeur, and purified by reverence and the sense of an encompassing invisible reality.

The Abbey, which was to become known as that of Kelso, and over which, shortly after its foundation, a spiritual peer presided as mitred abbot, was first set down by Earl David (1118-1124) near his castle in the forest of Selkirk—" my waste " of Selkirk—the name he applied to the now sweet pastoral valleys of the Ettrick and the Yarrow. He filled it with Tironensian monks. The monks did not like the situation, or policy suggested the transference of their seat to the lower and richer part of the valley, near the ancient and royal Castle of Roxburgh, and where the Teviot, now amid a scene of soft woodland beauty, mixes its waters with the Tweed. The town, now known as Kelso, then bore the name of Calchou; it had been known as Calchvynyd in the Cymric times, and had long been an attractive place of residence. There, somewhere between 1147 and 1152, David, as king, fixed finally the seat of the Tironensian monks; and the community grew to be one of the largest and richest in the kingdom. They held and cultivated numerous lands. They had under them, as was usual, various classes of rentallers—cottars (*cottarii*), small cultivators, and hus-

bandmen (*husbandi*), who occupied a husband land, or somewhat larger acreage than the cottar. The origin of the word cottar, *cote* or *mud dwelling*, shows the humbleness of the position, at least at first. The husband land seems to have comprised two oxgangs, and each oxgang about thirteen acres. The carucate or ploughgate, so often spoken of, extended to twelve oxgangs. The Scotch plough of the day required twelve oxen.[1] The abbey had also its granges or farm-houses, where a lay brother lived, and to which were attached *nativi, serfs*, or *churls*—in a word, slaves. Early in the thirteenth century, Earl Waldev of Dunbar gives over "Halden and his brother William and all their children and all their descendants" to Kelso.[2] Entries of this sort are but too common. In the reign of Alexander II. (1214-1249), we find that one Turkil Hog, his sons and daughters, were sold for three marks of silver by Bertram of Lesser Riston to the Prior and Convent of Coldingham. And there are other sales of the same nature by the lords of Prendergest to Coldingham.[3] About 1280, Bernardus Fraser, along with a carucate of land in West Gordon, gave to the abbey Adam, the son of Henry del Hoga, another unfortunate Hog—"nativo meo cum tota sequela sua."[4] This may be fairly translated—"my serf, along with his whole bag and baggage," which, doubtless, grouped together worldly effects and children, even remoter descendants, and showed a very summary way of disposing of Adam, a serf, yet a man. Poor Adam, who may be credited with a human soul, may have had some stirrings in his heart

[1] Innes, *Liber de Calchou*, Int., 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, Carta 128.
[3] *National MSS.*, lviii. lix.
[4] *Liber de Calchou*, Carta 124.

of revolt and repulsion, which were quite too deep for the appreciation of even Bernard Fraser, his lord and master. Slavery and servitude to the abbeys were gradually extinguished, chiefly through commutation in money, and perhaps the growth of a sense of the absolute worth of manhood and the sacredness of human personality.

The Abbey of Jedburgh, at first probably a Priory, which is of the same date with that of Kelso, about 1147, was also founded or reconstructed by David I. It occupied a perilous position on the extremity of the Border-line. Its strong and massive tower, still nearly entire, though marked by blackening fire, shows that the white-stoled Premonstratentian monks there were men of arms as well as of letters; and, doubtless, they found the former most effective when the ruddy glare from "high Dunyon" told them of the Southron foe on the ridge of the Carter Fell. Jedburgh Abbey shows two magnificent Norman doorways—one on the west, the other on the south side of the nave. That on the west, the principal entrance to the building, has a depth of arch of 7 feet 6 inches, and the mouldings that rise from the capitals of the shafts are marked by rare strength and grace. The union of power and restraint is the lesson taught us by that old workmanship.

The monastery of Melrose, as we now find it, was of later date than Kelso, as its more ornate architecture might lead us to expect. David had been king for twelve years ere, in 1136, he founded the second Melrose. This was exactly five hundred years after the foundation of the first monastery at Old Melrose, by Oswald, King

of Northumbria, and Aidan, bishop and abbot of Lindisfarne (about 636), and close on three hundred years after its destruction by Kenneth, King of the Scots, in 839. The monastery of Old Melrose—almost enclosed in a link of the Tweed — was organised by men inspired from Iona, who were hostile to the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome to universal supremacy. The new abbey reflected David's leanings to Rome, inherited from his mother. It was filled with Cistercian monks from Rievalle. The site was after St Bernard's own heart, in a soft green haugh of a gleaming river. St Benedict would have chosen a site on the top of a Border hill, for he loved an expanse over which the eye could roam limitlessly. The Cistercians were free as a corporation from episcopal jurisdiction; had rules of their own after the Benedictine Order, and formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*, under the immediate oversight of the Pope. Their religious observances were devotional acts seven times in twenty-four hours,—*Nocturnal, Matins, Tierce, Sexte, Nona, Vespers,* and *Compline,*—at intervals from two in the morning until seven in the evening. Besides these, the monks devoted themselves to instructing the young in secular and religious learning, to manual labour, and the copying of MSS., sacred and profane. With all these devotional exercises, the monks do not seem to have had a bad time of it. They had six hours' sleep before the Nocturnal at two in the morning, and then they might go back to bed until Matins at six o'clock. They all slept in the same room, but had separate beds. They had no sheets or linen, and they slept in the clothes they wore. There was thus some sanitary necessity and virtue in old

Drycthelm's daily—summer and winter—bathing. It is to be hoped his example was copiously followed.

David's policy in favouring and fostering religious houses independent of the jurisdiction of the bishop of the see was in accordance with the ecclesiastical tide of the time; but it had consequences which he did not foresee. Gradually parish and manorial churches were granted to the monasteries, the ministrations of which came to be supplied by a brother of the house. In course of time this function was discharged in an incidental and very perfunctory fashion, while the revenues of the church were absorbed by the monastery. In some instances, there was but one parish church for thirty distant villages.[1] Hence the popular feeling at the time of the Reformation was so strong against the religious houses that they suffered more than the churches.

David's building was completed July 28, 1146. It seems to have been wholly destroyed during the War of Independence. We must therefore regard the existing remains as representing rather the structure raised in the fourteenth century on the second foundation of Robert the Bruce, within whose sacred walls his heart was to find its last resting-place.

The Abbey of Melrose had, like Kelso, vast possessions. These extended over nine sheriffships. Besides what it owned in the Border counties, it had lands and privileges in Carrick and Kyle, Northumberland and Cumberland. Walter, the Steward, in the time of Alexander II. (1214-1249), in enlarging the grant of forest on the banks of the water of Ayr to the monks of Melrose, gives

[1] Major, *Greater Britain*, c. 30.

them all forest rights, with the express exception "of hunting or taking falcons in the forest," because, as he says, that is neither becoming for their order nor expedient for them.[1] This confirms the impression produced by the terms of other charters regarding the rights of fishing, that the monks had a decided taste for sport in field and river, and not unfrequently indulged it. But the earlier day — that of Old Melrose — showed monasticism in its true character and perfection long ere the later monks had come to acquire personal lands, to invest themselves in rich attire, and to be monks only in name. Let us look for a moment at the life of the earlier house. Drycthelm of Old Melrose, about 696, was the perfect type of the visionary and ascetic of the time. Once, in the course of a severe illness, he was given up for dead. He lay thus all night, but in the morning awoke and sat up, aroused, as he thought, from a night of sojourn in the abodes of the departed. Englis, or Hemgils, of Melrose, a friend of Drycthelm, related to Bede the experience through which the man transported to the realm of spirits had passed during that long night; and the historian has given us the thrilling narrative. In his vision Drycthelm was conducted by one with a shining countenance and a bright garment in silence to a vale full on the left of dreadful flames, and on the right of horrid snow, where the souls of men in great multitudes were alternately tossed from the extremity of heat to that of cold. This proved to be purgatory. Then there was the more awesome opening of the place of everlasting punishment, where fiends laughed and rejoiced

[1] *National MSS.*, i. liii.

in handling their victims, until the mockery and the wailing became indistinguishable. Here for a space the visionary was left alone in the darkness. Again the scene changes, and the guide, returning to him as "the brightness of a star shining amid the darkness," conducted him into an atmosphere of clear light. "While he then led me in open light, I saw a vast wall before us, the length and height of which in every direction seemed to be altogether boundless. I began to wonder why we went up to the wall, seeing no door, window, or path through it. When we came to the wall we were presently, I know not by what means, on the top of it, and within it was a vast and delightful field, so full of fragrant flowers that the odour of its delightful sweetness immediately dispelled the stench of the dark furnace, which had pierced me through and through. So great was the light in this place that it seemed to exceed the brightness of the day or the sun in its meridian height. In this field were innumerable assemblies of men in white, and many companies seated together rejoicing." Yet this was but the vestibule to heaven, where good souls not perfect wait for a while. Drycthelm was finally admonished that if on his return to the body he examined his actions and directed his speech and behaviour in righteousness and simplicity, his lot would finally be with the blessed souls. The visionary was reluctant to return, but durst not ask any more questions, and suddenly found himself alive among men.[1]

This picture is æsthetically very grand, and the conceptions and imagery have obviously influenced both

[1] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, b. v. c. xii. Giles' ed.

Milton and Dante. It shows us the kind of moral and religious motive and frame of mind that influenced the devotees of the time. Drycthelm of course at once relinquished a secular life and became a monk of Melrose, ultimately rising to be the head of the early monastery. It was his practice after this vision to bathe daily in the Tweed without undressing or afterwards changing his drenched clothes. When, after dipping amid the floating pieces of ice which he had broken, he was asked how he could endure such violent cold, he answered: "I have seen greater cold." And so we are told, through an indefatigable desire for heavenly bliss, he subdued his aged body, until he was called away, and forwarded the salvation of many by his words and example.[1] This was the type of the highest life and practice in Old Melrose.

Any one who compares the details of the vision of Drycthelm with the stanzas of the subsequent ballad of *Thomas the Rhymour* can hardly fail to see that the person who wrote the latter was familiar with the former. The bright guide becomes the Queen of Faëry; the vestibule to heaven the intermediate state of Faëryland, though with no possibility of change or advance to a higher; there is, like the darkness by the pit, the "mirk midnicht" of the caverned ride; and we have prefiguring suggestions of the sudden splendour of the abode of the faëries, the reluctance of the earth-born mortal to leave the strange and fascinating scene, and the weird and eerie feeling all through both visions. The chief difference is that the realistic faith of the early ecclesiasticism has died out, and the minstrel is

[1] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, b. v. c. xii. Giles' ed.

content with the imaginative completeness of the faëry vision. It is curious to think how this district of the Tweed, particularly the Eildons and the Leader, has been the scene of so many visions of the supersensible, —of the older religious men of the time — Drycthelm and Cuthbert; of the Faëry Land of Thomas the Rhymour; and, we may add, the romantic imaginings of the author of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. It is the very same tremor of spiritual vision which runs through the description of the laying in the grave and opening of the tomb of the wizard Michael Scot, amid the feeling of unseen presences around:—

> "I buried him on St Michael's night,
> When the bell toll'd one, and the moon was bright,
> And I dug his chamber among the dead,
> When the floor of the chancel was stainèd red,
> That his patron's cross might o'er him wave,
> And scare the fiends from the Wizard's grave.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Strange sounds along the chancel pass'd,
> The banners waved without a blast."

And when the tomb was opened, like the sainted Cuthbert—

> "Before their eyes the Wizard lay,
> As if he had not been dead a day.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> His left hand held his Book of Might;
> A silver cross was in his right;
> The lamp was placed beside his knee:
> High and majestic was his look,
> At which the fellest fiends had shook,
> And all unruffled was his face:
> They trusted his soul had gotten grace."

In the time of the later or second abbey, we have

a very marked personage in Waldevus or Waltheof, who was second abbot. He was the son of the Earl of Northampton by Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. This lady afterwards married David, Prince of Cumberland, heir to the Scottish throne. Waltheof is an interesting character in those old times. David, a kindly man, was gentle and considerate to the son whose mother he had married. The king, wishing to please the lad, took him often to the chase of the deer; but Waltheof, the boy, while going complacently, had no taste for the capture and the killing of the innocent creatures of the wild. He would stray from the followers of the sport, seek a shady place, and pulling a book from his bosom, read until they had completed their run and their sport, and then join them in their return home. This is a picture of youthful tendency of which one could easily reproduce an example. But there is more than this. There was a tender passion, quite reciprocal, between this sensitive lad and a girl of the Court. Not apprehending at first the position, he yet finally realised a sense of "his danger." He thereupon retired to the convent of St Oswald's, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, and became one of the most austere of the celibates of his time. Finally, he was made Abbot of Melrose. Whatever his weaknesses might be, and they were inseparable from his time, one cannot but respect a youth who declined secular preferment, and deliberately chose a monastic life, when he might have been promoted by his step-father, the king, to the highest ecclesiastical position in the realm. Waltheof resolutely sacrificed social position and woman's

love for the self-denial and austerity of the monastic life. In these days we might well suppose such a nature would have chosen a more manly part, in doing his work amid even the trouble and chaos of the world,—not wholly rejecting even a woman's sympathy and help. The mutilation of human life—the denaturalising of a man—is among those calamities which Romanism has through the centuries inflicted on the world.

Waltheof was the greatest miracle-worker in a miracle-working age. He was able by the touch of his crosier to make a sack of corn last in the service of the poor as long as any one cared to draw out of its contents. No wonder that the country people crowded round his grave. But he had a successor, William, who does not appear to have had perfect faith in the wonderful and manifold miracles of Waltheof, and who sought to check the inordinate belief in his preternatural powers. William, the Sceptic, however, as we might call him now, fell somewhat on unappreciative times. He was opposed by the monks and the mob; and rather than permit worship at the grave of Waltheof, he resigned the abbacy. Joscelin, a more superstitious and pliant personage, succeeded him, and afterwards, in 1175, became Bishop of Glasgow—founding there the noble crypt of the Cathedral.

The Abbey of Dryburgh, sadly broken, yet not so completely as to fail to suggest what once it was, occupies a quiet and secluded spot, sacred, full of worship, on a piece of haugh-land, green, well-wooded, and shady, in the fold of a link of the Tweed. The trees around it are stately, and shadowing its walls is a venerable yew, said to be as old as the abbey itself. The ivy has clothed the

old gables in a soft and ever-living green; lichens throw a shade of grey over the red tinted sandstone of its walls, and flowers, bright in purple and yellow, as of the young and ever-renewed life of the world, peer out from the crevices of its squared stones. Withal, the feeling is one in which the past, with its long-gone memories and association with the illustrious dead, wholly prevails over the present. Here, on the north side of the nave, near the high altar, is St Mary's aisle; and there Sir Walter Scott was laid on the 26th September 1832. The great Master sleeps where his maternal ancestors, the Haliburtons, lie. Not far from him is the tomb of the lordly Morevilles; and around are the graves of abbots and monks, who lived all through Scottish story, heard the tidings of Bannockburn, Flodden, Ancrum, and Pinkie, their Matins and their Vespers now sunk in one silence of the dead, —and only he, in the moving creations of William of Deloraine, and Lucy Ashton, and Jeanie Deans, has an immortality of memory. Dryburgh[1] was founded a little later than the other abbeys of the Borders, in 1150, on the site of a mission church over which St Modan had presided in 522. In the year of its foundation, on St Martin's day, the cemetery was consecrated, that no demons might haunt it.[2] The foundation has been ascribed to Hugh de Moreville, Lord of Lauderdale, and High Constable of Scotland, who succeeded his father in 1159, and died in 1162. In a deed confirming the possessions of Dryburgh by David I., the king, however,

[1] *Dryburgh* is held by some to be Celtic—*Darach Bruach*, the bank of the oaks.

[2] See Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, 294.

speaks of himself as the founder (*ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Dryburghe, quam fundavi*). But unquestionably the greatest of its earliest benefactors were De Moreville and his wife, Beatrice Beauchamp;[1] and it is possible, as has been supposed, that the king merely officially accepted as his own act that of his vassal—De Moreville. Some hold that De Moreville was implicated in the murder of Thomas à Becket. If so, the founding and rich endowment of Dryburgh might have been in the way of expiation for this deed of his life. But the benefactor of Dryburgh was really the nephew of the De Moreville who slew the great archbishop at the altar,—an event which took place twenty years after the foundation of Dryburgh, in 1170. The ruins of the abbey show remains of a structure of earlier date than 1150. According to a competent authority there are four distinct styles of arch, the characteristic feature of mediæval architecture—viz., "the massive Roman arch with its squared sides, the deep-splayed Saxon, the pillared and intersected Norman, and the early English Gothic arch."[2] This fine building was burnt to the ground by Edward II. in 1322, in the course of his return from an inroad into Scotland, unsuccessful, famished, and exasperated. It was never completely restored. It again suffered at the hands of Richard II. in 1385. The abbey seems to have received the finishing-touch from Bowes and Layton or (Latoun), in 1544; for Lord Eure (Evers) writes, under this date, that these two accomplished razers of religious buildings, along with "vii hundredth men," "rode into Scotland,

[1] See Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, under "Dryburgh."
[2] Mr George Smith, architect, in *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, 322.

upon the water of Tweede, to a town called Dryborough, with an abbay in the same, which was a pretty town and well buylded; and they burnte the same town and abbaye, savyning the churche, with a great substance of corne, and gote very moche spoylage and insight geire, and brought away an hundredth nolte, lx naggs, a hundredth sheipe."

The monks of Dryburgh were, like those of Jedburgh, Premonstratentian or Augustinian. From their white cassock, long white cloak, and square hat or bonnet of felt, they were known as the White Canons. They had the privilege from Pope Lucius III. in 1183 of celebrating divine service in the church, even when Scotland happened to be under the papal interdict. This was to be done within shut doors, without ringing of bells, and in a low voice.[1] One man of great repute in his time —the fourteenth century—received his early education among the monks of Dryburgh. This was Ralph Strode, the intimate friend of Geoffrey Chaucer, who names him "the philosophical Strode," and who dedicates to him, along with Gower, his *Troilus* and *Cresseide*. Strode became tutor at Merton College, wrote against Wycliffe, and is the author of, among other works, *Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ*—the Holy Land, which he was among the first of those times to visit—and *Summulæ Logicales*[2] (printed at Venice, 1517). But the man of greatest ecclesiastical political note connected with Dryburgh was Andrew Forman, who was superior after 1444. He became subsequently Bishop of Moray, and then Archbishop of St Andrews, even against his great competitor Gawain

[1] Morton, *Monastic Annals*, 295. [2] Cf. *Ibid.*, 297.

Douglas and the power of the house of Douglas. Forman had more responsibility for urging the king to the policy which ended in the disaster of Flodden than any other man of the time. Forman seems to have been of the Formans of Hatton in Berwickshire. His brother married Helen, one of the two coheiresses of Rutherford of Rutherford.

These houses, whose ruins now touch us so deeply, were for four hundred years the centres to which the pious hearts of the district turned. The mysterious powers of the spiritual world were associated with them. There was grace for honest seekers, grace for the souls of departed kinsmen, and grace even when there was a touch of relenting on the part of the living for stricken foes. A divine inheritance could be purchased in each case by a gift of a portion of this passing world to the holders of the spiritual power; and hence the numerous donations to those houses and their princely landed possessions. This spirit of reverence for the church and abbey seems, however, to have been stronger from the time of David I. to the death of Alexander III., than subsequently to the War of Independence. It is possible that this war, and the family feuds and ferocities which lasted down to the time of James VI., rendered the Lowland nature fiercer, less reflective, and more callous than it originally was. At any rate, the Lowland Scot was not, during the middle ages, a very devoted churchman. Nor were the religious houses popular, or of high repute in the district. They were, no doubt, to some extent homes of art and of intellectual culture, but these are not elements which the average mind either understands or appreciates greatly.

They are too far removed from what is called practical work. And it is remarkable that even in this aspect those rich and well-endowed abbeys should show so few names of note in letters during the whole four centuries of their monopoly and their power; though, without doubt, they gave an early education to several men afterwards distinguished in mediæval learning—as Harvey, Bishop of Ely, and the astronomer, Joannes de Sacrobosco. In this connection it may be noticed that Alexander Geddes, a monk of Melrose, doubtless a son of the old family of Geddes of Rachan in Peeblesshire, was in 1452 admitted regent or teacher of philosophy in the newly established University of Glasgow. The university itself had been founded by a Borderer, William Turnbull, the Bishop of Glasgow,—a cultured scion of the wild stock of Bedrule. Possibly we owe the bishop to Melrose or some other abbey by the Tweed.

The history of the rise and the ruin of these splendid homes of piety is in each case the same. All of them suffered badly during the War of Independence—especially Kelso and Melrose, but perhaps more in their possessions than in their edifices. Lords Surrey and Dacre, in 1523, burned and pillaged the most of them. It was reserved for Lord Hertford and his subordinates, Evers and Latoun, all of them fit agents of the most brutal of English kings, to complete, in 1544 and 1545, the work of destruction. A short record of the circumstances in which those stately edifices, usually regarded as sacred by all but the lowest in civilisation, were broken down and destroyed, is of interest, as showing the spirit of the warfare at the time, and as serving to correct the popular

but gross misconceptions regarding the authors of the devastation.

Henry VIII. was King of England. He was enraged that his scheme for the marriage of the infant Mary with his son Edward was finally rejected, in 1543, by the Governor Arran, and the French or national party in the country. He fumed and swore that he would drag the child out of the strongest castle in Scotland. She was meanwhile removed to a safe distance in the west. But an English fleet and army were despatched to ravage the country, especially the East Border. The summer of 1544 witnessed a frightful desolation of that district, under Lord Hertford. The Scots found themselves unable to oppose the superior English force. "Seton, Home, and Buccleuch, hanging on the mountains of Lammermoor, saw with ineffectual regret the fertile plains of Merse and Lothian, and the Metropolis itself, reduced to a smoking desert."[1]

The Abbey and Palace of Holyrood are specially mentioned as having been burnt by Hertford, and the chief towns along the east coast.[2] The narrative of the fate of Dunbar gives an impressive idea of how these things were done, and of the tone of moral feeling of the actors. An account of "The Late Expedicion into Scotlande" was sent to the Lord Privy Seal of the time, by a friend of his with the army. He seems, indeed, to have been what in these days we should call a special reporter. On the 16th of May the English army encamped beside

[1] *Minstrelsy*, Int., 123.

[2] *The Late Expedicion in Scotlande*, printed in 1544. Dalzell's *Fragments*, 11.

Dunbar. "That nyght," he tells us, "they looked for us to have burnt the towne of Dunbar, which we differred tyll the morning at the dislodgynge of our campe, which we executed by five hundred of our hackbutters, beyng backed with five hundred horsemen. And by reason we took them in the mornynge, who having wautched all night for our comynge, and perceyvynge our army to dislodge and depart, thoughte themselves safe of us, were newly gone to theyr beddes; and, in theyr fyrste slepes closed in with fyer, men, women, and children were suffocated and burnt."[1] "In these victories," says the pious reporter, "who is to be moste highest lauded but God?"[2] With such a spirit as this, could we expect that the Abbey of Newbotle would be saved? or that the men inspired by it would be otherwise than gratified in burning and destroying "the Lord Seton's Castell, which was ryght fayre," and "his orchardes and gardens, whiche were the fayrest and beste in order that we sawe in al that country."[3]

Hertford had no sooner dispersed his army than there were found men emulous of his noble example. "The Lorde Eure [Evers], with many other valiant wise gentlemen abyding in the marches of the north parte, intendinge not by idelness to surcesse in occasions convenient," passed into Scotland by the Carter Fell, and set themselves down against Jedburgh. They took the town and sacked it, burnt the abbey and the "Graye Freres." The spoil "layded at theyr departing five hundred horses."[4] Evers was followed by band after band in the course of

[1] Dalzell's *Fragments*, 10. [2] *Ibid.*, 14. [3] *Ibid.*, 9.
[4] *The Late Expedicion.* Dalzell's *Fragments.*

the summer, until Teviotdale was wasted as it had never been before. There was "the contynance of Goddes favour towards us," writes this pious reporter, "and for this," he continues, "let us pray for the prosperous estate of our noble, good, and victorious Lorde Governour and King, for whose sake, doubtless, God hathe spred his blessing over us, in peace to have myrth, and in warres to have victorye."[1]

We have the catalogue of ruin of this summer duly set forth by its agents to the English king, of date 17th November 1544.[2] On the list stands this entry: "Towns, towers, barnckynes, paryshe churches, bastill houses, burned and destroyed, 192."

Evers and Latoun returned again to their work of destruction early in the spring of 1544-45. But now they did one thing which a Borderer and a Douglas could neither brook nor forgive. The Abbey of Melrose itself had been so defaced that there was little more to be done to it in the way of damage. There were, however, still within its walls the untouched tombs of the Douglases, especially his of Otterbourne and that of the Dark Knight of Liddesdale. With a meanness of heart and pitiful despite rare in the age of chivalry, they defaced the monuments which marked the resting-places of the heroic dead as they stood under the now roofless Abbey of Melrose. The representative of the ancient and "dreaded name" at this time was Archibald, the seventh Earl of Angus; and he was not unworthy of the house in its early and better days. The blood of Angus was fired by the outrage; and

[1] *The Late Expedicion.* Dalzell's *Fragments*, 11.
[2] See note to the "Eve of St John" in the *Minstrelsy.*

as Evers and Latoun were retreating from Melrose to Jedburgh, on the 27th of February 1544-45, they were eagerly followed and watched by the Douglas with a thousand horsemen. Norman Lesley, at the head of a troop of Fifemen, was with him. Buccleuch rode down from Branxholm, he and the retainers of his name burning to revenge the devastations of his lands and towers in the waters of Teviot and Kale, of the preceding year. He insisted on fighting the marauding Southerns. The Scottish leaders manœuvred, drew the English from their march, and at Peniel Heugh, as the sun was going down, they wholly defeated and mercilessly slaughtered the mercenary band which had made the land a desert, and to which nothing had been sacred. Evers, his son Sir Ralph, and Latoun were among the slain. "The King of England," Scott tells us, "had promised to these two barons a feudal grant of the country which they had thus reduced to a desert; upon hearing which Angus is said to have sworn to write the deed of investiture upon their skins, with sharp pens and bloody ink." [1] He did the writing which his savage words implied; but there was no investiture.

"From Ala's banks to fair Melrose's fane,
How bright the sabre flashed o'er hills of slain,
(I see the combat through the mist of years),
When Scott and Douglas led the Border spears!
The mountain streams were bridged with English dead;
Dark Ancrum's heath was dyed with deeper red;
The ravaged Abbey rung the funeral knell
When fierce Latoun and savage Evers fell;
Fair bloomed the laurel wreath by Douglas placed
Above the sacred tombs by war defaced.

[1] *Minstrelsy*—note to "Eve of St John."

> Hail, dauntless chieftain ! thine the mighty boast,
> In scorn of Henry and his southern host,
> To venge each ancient violated bust,
> And consecrate to fame thy father's dust." [1]

Henry was, of course, still further enraged by this disaster. He sent Hertford himself to the Border early next year (1545) to revenge, if possible, the death of Evers and Latoun. The memory of Peniel Heugh, indeed, rankled in the mind of Englishmen, until they had their revenge at Pinkie. Patten, in his account, openly tells us that this was one of the motives of the dreadful slaughter of that day,[2] when the fields from Musselburgh to the gates of Edinburgh, five miles of way, were strewn with the cloven Scottish dead, each lying face earthwards, under the merciless head-strokes of the pursuing and irresistible English horsemen.

Hertford was at Kelso on the 11th September 1545. He took the abbey there, and, not being able to fortify it, he resolved "to raze and deface the house of Kelso," which he did, and then to proceed to Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh with a similar purpose, which he carried out. There is something finely satisfactory, complete, and matter-of-fact in his statement of his purpose, and his reasons for it. He writes of the above date to the English king that he had resolved to raze and deface the house of Kelso, so as the "enemye shall have lytill commoditie of the same, and to remain encamped here for five or six days, and in the meanse seasone to devaste and burne all the country hereabouts as farr as we maye

[1] Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy.*

[2] *The Expedicion into Scotlande*, 68, 1547. Printed in Dalzell's *Fragments.*

with our horsemen. As to-morrowe we intend to send a good bande of horsemen to Melrose and Dryburghe to burne the same, and all the cornes and villages in their waye, and so daylie to do some exploytes here in the Mershe, and at the end of the said 5 or 6 dayes to remove our campe, and to marche to Jedworthe to burne the same, and thus to marche through a great part of Tyvydale, to overthrow their piles and stone houses, and to burne their cornes and villages."[1] The sublime feeling that this was the right thing to do, and the assured sense of his Majesty's acquiescence and delight in the completion of the business, are here indicated in a manner touchingly *naïve*.

These grand ruins are now very much as Hertford left them. And we should be spared for the future all ignorant talk about the Reformers and Cromwell having been the malefactors. They were saved the work, if they had had the will. It was done fifteen years before the Reformation, and fifty-four years before Cromwell was born. Only one healing influence has been at work since those September days which first saw them reduced from the perfection of symmetry and beauty to blackened walls. Time has dealt softly and gently with the remains. It has dotted them with the growths that love ancient ruin, and over all it has thrown the tender pathos of decay.

Along with the great Abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose, there grew up in the valley of the Tweed the royal castles of Roxburgh, Traquair, and Peebles. These, especially Roxburgh, were the seats of royalty down to the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v., quoted by Innes. *Liber de Calchou*, Introduction, p. 48.

death of Alexander III. Each was in the centre of forest-lands. These were divided into several distinct forests, with separate names and management. The forests of Ettrick and Selkirk are referred to as different. The former embraced the valleys of the Upper Ettrick and the Yarrow; the latter included the lands on the Lower Ettrick, and for a considerable distance those along the adjoining banks of the Tweed. To the north-west lay the forest of Traquair, and on the north-east that of Gala. There was another and smaller forest on the Upper Alne, now the Ale Water.[1] The old idea that a forest implied wood is, of course, exploded; but it is certainly a mistake to suppose, as we find done in these days, that the forest-lands of the Lowlands were not originally, and for a long period, well-wooded demesnes. There is quite cogent historical proof of this, apart from the geological evidence. We know that so late as 1649, reference is made to the fact that Etterick Forest was greatly denuded of trees, while some were allowed to remain. And now, were the sheep taken off that Lowland country, we should find in a very short time hill and glen clothed with birch, hazel, rowan, all indigenous to the soil.

The Castle of Roxburgh was the most ancient, as it was the largest and most important of those seats of monarchy and government. It had been a great fortress in the period of the kingdom of Northumbria, and was probably the chief residence of David I. as earl and king. The splendid Norman Abbey of Kelso, on the other side of the Tweed, was a fitting adjunct to this seat of royalty.

[1] Compare the references in Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i. book iv. c. 6, and C. Innes, *Orig. Par.*, i. 241 *et seq.*

When the border-line of England was advanced farther northwards than in the time of David, the possession of Roxburgh Castle, known later as "The Castle of March-mound," was usually one of the most keenly contested points in the warfare between the two kingdoms. It was while laying siege to it that James II. lost his life, and so commanding was its position and occupation that it was finally thought the best policy to throw it down. It was costly to keep, and hazardous to be in the hands of an enemy. Something of it survived in the beginning of the century. The site of so much splendour, and the scene of so many valiant struggles, is now marked by bits of broken wall here and there, but mostly by green and shapeless mounds:—

> "Crushed are thy halls, save where the peasant sees
> One moss-clad ruin rise between the trees—
> The still green trees whose mournful branches wave
> In solemn cadence o'er the hapless brave." [1]

The Castle of Peebles stood on the highest point of the peninsula between the Tweed and the Eddleston, at the head of the High Street, and a little behind the site of the present parish church. The site, flanked by the Peebles Water on the north and west, and the Tweed on the south with its guarded bridge, was a very strong one. The castle was already built in the time of David I. William the Lion, between 1165 and 1199,[2] gives to the Abbey of Kelso "the chapel of the Castle of Peebles, with the carucate of land belonging to it, and with the

[1] Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy*, Part iii. 58.

[2] *Confirmatio Regis Willelmi super Donationibus antecessorum suorum*—*Liber de Calchou*, Carta 13.

redditus of ten shillings of the 'ferme' of the burgh, which King David my grandfather assigned to the same chapel for perpetually celebrating in it divine service for the soul of Earl Henry my father." The monks are laid under an obligation of erecting there a suitable and fair chapel (pulcram capellam), and finding for it seemly ecclesiastical decorations (honesta ornamenta ecclesiastica), and a perpetual chaplain.

Edward I. garrisoned the Castle of Peebles in 1297-98. He was at Peebles in August 1301. Sir William de Durham, Sheriff of Peebles, held the town for the English king with four men-at-arms in 1302. On 12th June 1334, Edward Baliol granted to Edward III., in pledge, "Villam et Comitatum de Pebles."[1] The omission of "castrum" here, while it occurs in the particulars of the grant of the other places named—such as Berwick-on-Tweed, Roxburgh, Jeddeworthe, Edinburgh, Dumfries—may be taken to imply that at this date the Castle of Peebles was demolished, or at least no longer of service as a stronghold. Curiously enough, Baliol, under the orders of the English king, was at Peebles, 29th December of this year; and the Earl of Moray and others having fled from the district, the English party burnt and destroyed everything in their way, and then returned to Carlisle.[2] It seems probable, however, that the Castle of Peebles was among those that had before this date been dismantled—though not wholly destroyed—by Robert Bruce, in accordance with his policy of leaving no strongholds likely to be of

[1] Rhymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 888; *Cal. Doc. Scotland*, iii. 1127.
[2] *Chronica de Lanercost*, 279.

use to the southern invader. In 1439, August 12, a deed of David Hay, Lord Yester, dated "apud Castrum de Peblis," is confirmed by the king. I should add that the Castle of Neidpath, mentioned in 1492, but probably older, ought not to be confounded with the original Castle of Peebles. The eminence on which Neidpath stands never belonged to the burgh, and never was called the Castlehill. It formed part of the lands of Jedderfield (Jedworthfield), the hereditary appanage of the Sheriff of Peeblesshire. In the year 1610, John, Lord Hay of Yester, was served heir to his father, James, Lord Hay of Yester, "in the lands of Jedburghfield, with the office of Sheriff of Peiblis and the Castle of Nidpath, of the old extent of five merks." It was never flanked by any mill belonging to the burgh. No mill-lade was ever cut along its south side. It never paid ferme to the Crown, and it was never feued out by the burgh; while all these things apply to the Castlehill of Peebles. In 1465, James le Vache (Veitch) got a grant of land at "the Est end under the Castlehill, and upon the South side." These lands were held until very recent times by his successors, and they were on the side of the site of the present parish church. The only ground on which this supposition has been made is that, apparently after the destruction of the castle on the Castlehill of Peebles,—in so far at least as it was available as a stronghold,—the Castle of Neidpath was spoken of in formal documents by the Sheriff, its owner, as "the Castle of Peebles." This, of course, it was in a judicial sense. It was the place from which documents were issued by the Sheriff of Peebles for the time; but this does not prove

that Neidpath was the original Castle of Peebles, and that these two castles had not a separate existence. The Rental Book of the Earl of Tweeddale from 1671 to 1685 is even dated "Peebles Castle." Unless there had been still surviving some old fragment of the keep, to which the tenants might resort, the other castle, superseding the original, would be called "Peebles Castle." There is a precisely analogous case in Glasgow. We know that the Bishop's Castle of Glasgow stood on the Castlehill at the head of the High Street, and that he also occupied the Castle of Lochwood in the parish of Monkland. And we find that, in dating papers from Lochwood, the Bishop more than once calls it "The Castle of Glasgow." The old remains of the Castle of Peebles—foundations and some mounds—were swept away on the occasion of the building of the parish church in last century. Since that date, the traces even of the original castle have been entirely obliterated.

The Castle of Traquair still stands, incorporated with more modern yet still ancient additions. The old castle forms the northern portion of the present building. This picturesque mansion, with its varied additions through Scottish story, is one of the oldest homesteads on the Borders, and in itself an epitome of the past. From the oldest portion of it the kings of Scotland, from David I. to Alexander III., have dated charters. The castle of the royal forest, in the green and well-watered valley of the Quair, was the favourite residence of those early kings — especially William the Lion — in the peaceful and prosperous time ere

the dark troubles of the War of Independence. It was visited by Edward I. and Edward II. of England. Mary Stuart and Darnley, after their marriage, spent some days there in August 1566, when there was some coarse and unseemly speech to the Queen by her consort, who was rebuked for it by his host the laird. And Montrose, after riding across Minchmuir on a September day from the disaster at Philiphaugh, paid a brief visit to the house on his rapid flight up the Tweed to Peebles and Biggar. In the time of Bruce Sir James of Douglas held the house and lands, and they passed through several hands, among others, William de Moravia, possibly the Outlaw of the ballad, to a James Stewart, son of James, Earl of Buchan. This first Stewart of Traquair had a charter of the lands in 1491, and was among the slain at Flodden. From this old mansion, a few years ago, was carried out to her grave the last direct descendant of the line that held it for more than four hundred years, and in whose veins ran the blood of the Lady Jane Beaufort, whom the youthful James I. saw from the narrow bole of the tower of Windsor, as a moving vision in the garden among the trees, with, as he says—

"Beautee eneuch to make a world to dote."

Its guardian bears, and the mystery of its long-closed gate and grass-grown avenue, remain to attract and stimulate the fancy.

These were the chief seats of royalty from the time of David I., and even before it, until the death of Alexander III. From these castles were issued many of the most

ancient and important charters of the kingdom. Some of them are very curious and suggestive. On the banks of the Molendinar there had arisen, in the early centuries, amid the thickets of the Wood of Caledon, a small hamlet round a wattled church. This hamlet gradually grew in importance through its proximity to the church. At length William the Lion, while living at the Castle of Traquair, sometime between 1175 and 1178, granted a charter to the bishop and his successors, constituting the hamlet a bishop's burgh, that it might be a mart of barter with the rude inhabitants of the Highlands.[1] Thus was the city of Glasgow gathered, as it were, from the wilderness, and enabled to become what it now is. The parish of Traquair now contains some 700 people; Glasgow and suburbs have 770,471.

The later kings of Scotland, of the houses of Bruce and Stewart, were led, either by choice or policy, to reside north of the Border district—in Holyrood, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, and Falkland. The direct connection of the royal line with the valley of the Tweed may be said to have terminated with the death of Alexander III., in 1285-86. The comparatively peaceful and prosperous era of the Scottish monarchy, from Malcolm Canmore to the last of the Alexanders, closed fitly amid dark, weird, and ghostly omen. The Princess of Norway—the granddaughter of Alexander III.—was now the heir to the Scottish crown, and the sole hope of the people. Alexander, widowed and childless, was urged to a second marriage. He was wedded at Jedburgh to Yoleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. In the even-

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v.; *Life of Kentigern*, p. cv.

ing there was a masked ball in the abbey in honour of the nuptials. The entertainment was more splendid than any that had been in Scotland before. But the joy was marred and the splendour shaded by the sudden appearance of a ghastly figure, which joined for some moments in the dance, seeming to glide as a shadow among the throng; then, amid an awe on every heart, passed away, no one knowing whence it had come or whither it went. The mysterious apparition was readily regarded by the popular mind as a presage of a coming calamity, and the death of Alexander in the following spring was to it the fulfilment of the omen. "Where," said the Earl of March to Thomas the Rhymour, as the morning on which the bard had prophesied the storm rose clear and fair, "where is the tempest, Thomas?" "The day is not done," said the seer, and "before the ninth hour" there did "blow the worst wind and tempest Scotland ever felt," when the news of the death of the last of the kings, ere the War of Independence, passed over the ill-fated land. "Perhaps," says Mr Innes, "no other nation in Europe was so unhappily situated as Scotland, from the conclusion of the bright period that ended with the last Alexander till the Union."[1] It may be added that the most unhappy part of this unhappy kingdom during that period, at least for the ordinary upland man and citizen or burgess, was this Border district. It was exposed to outrage, fire, and sword from the south. Every English army must pass through it; and each time this happened the country was made desolate either by the foe or by the inhabitants seeking to starve the

[1] *Burghs of Scotland*, Pref., xviii.

enemy. Even in times of peace there were constant reprisals from each side of the Border; and the internal raids, and the family feuds, were of the most savage, bloody, and persistent kind—almost entirely unchecked by central authority or law.

CHAPTER XII.

SIR SIMON FRASER AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The fatal fall of Alexander over the cliff at Kinghorn, or more probably the stumble of his horse in a hole on the sands, closed what had been a peaceful and prosperous time for Scotland, and led to a state of trouble, strife, and suffering which few kingdoms have undergone. The period between his death in March 1285-86 and June 1314, the date of the battle of Bannockburn, exhibits the spectacle of the most complete antagonism in history between the spirit of English or Norman feudal domination and aggression, and that individualism of character which shows itself in the unquenchable instinct of freedom and persistent self-assertion of the Anglo-Saxon Scot. In the conflict of this epoch there were revealed and nurtured that strength of will and capacity of patient endurance, that deep-seated instinct of self-rule and sense of political independence, which are to this day conspicuous features of the people on the plains of Lowland Scotland. And in the middle period of this conflict—that is, between the retirement of William Wallace from public life, after his defeat at Falkirk, and the crowning of

Robert Bruce at Scone—Sir Simon Fraser, Dominus, Lord or Laird of Oliver Castle, was the most conspicuous actor.

At the death of Alexander III., the father, also Sir Simon Fraser, represented a family that had been of great influence in the country during several previous reigns. Popular tradition ascribed their origin to Hungary, and carried their lineage back to the days of the fabled Achaius and the mythic Scoto-French league of that period. It made the first of the Frasers Thane of the Isle of Man—an office which was held to have been transmitted to his descendants for several generations. This tradition may at least be taken as implying a general belief in the antiquity of the family. The Frasers of Oliver were indeed the first and greatest feudal barons who had place or power in Peeblesshire. They sat in the Scottish Parliaments or General Councils of the kingdom from Malcolm IV. to the death of Alexander III., and even later, as barons—that is, Domini or Lairds, holding *de capite*, or directly of the Crown—along with the Bruces, the Mowbrays, Grahams, Maxwells, Flemings, Comyns, and Soulis, and the ancestors of many of the ancient Scottish families who afterwards became Lords of Parliament, or hereditary peers;[1] for the distinction between holders of baronies and Lords of Parliament did not arise until the time of James I. In the early Parliaments, the members sat simply on equal titles as holders of baronies.

The name was as frequently spelt Fresel and Frisel as Fraser. In the French of the time it was rendered *de*

[1] See Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i. and ii. 114. *Historical Documents* (*Scotland*), i. 130.

Fresel. This was probably the original form, and points to some place abroad whence the designation was taken. Fresel or Frisel was for many centuries the usual form of the name in Tweeddale. We have Frisel in county and in town all through the middle ages, and down to our own times. This is but one among several instances in which we have to look to traditionary usage for preserving what is really the oldest type of name, whether of person or of place. It is not unlikely that the adoption of the *fraisse, frases,* or *frasiers* as their arms—the flower of the wood-strawberry, which grows so abundantly in the glades of Neidpath—was connected with the change of name. These cinquefoil strawberry flowers, on an azure shield, were borne by the Frasers, at least from the time of the Crusades. At first the flowers were five, or, more correctly, six in number. On the seal of Sir Andrew Fraser, Sheriff of Stirling in the time of Edward, they appear on the seal as 3, 2, and 1. In more modern times they were reduced to three. Curiously enough, in the famous Roll of the siege of Caerlaverock, in the year 1300, the arms of Sir Simon de Fresel, who at that time was serving on the English side, are given differently from what are historically known as those of the family from the earliest period. The writer of the account, who is supposed to have been an eyewitness of the splendid pageantry of the siege, tells us that

> "Symon de Fresel de cele gent
> Le ot noire à rosettes de argent"—
>
> "Simon de Fresel of that company
> Bore black, with roses of silver."[1]

[1] *Roll of Caerlaverock*, 15.

They are arranged properly as 3, 2, 1. Possibly the rosettes here spoken of were really the strawberry flowers, the *frases* or *frasiers* of the family. The term had perhaps a wider meaning than now, just as the *rosaceæ* with botanists include the wood-strawberry, or the writer was mistaken in his observation of the pennon of Fraser.

The Frasers certainly settled in Tweeddale at an early period. Fruid, in the wilds of Tweedsmuir, has been popularly regarded as their first property and seat. It was, at least, the last held by their name, and that as late as the fifteenth century. We have no trace of the Frasers in the time of David I., but in the reign of Malcolm IV. (1153-1165), Adam Fraser gives to the Abbey of Newbotle the lands of Southrig, part of Southale, and mentions a gift of his uncle Oliver to the same house. This was not unlikely the head of the house at the period—the same who built and gave his name to Oliver Castle.[1] Oliver, the son of Kylvert or Chilvert, appears as a follower of the Earl of March between 1175 and 1199. Oliver Castle (Castrum Oliveri) is mentioned in the deed regarding the Marches of Stobo about 1200. Oliver Fraser does not seem to have left issue, and the representation of the family apparently passed to his nephew, Adam, son of Udard. Adam was succeeded by Laurence Fraser.[2] During the same reign (1160) Symon Fraser gives to the Church of St Mary of Kelso, the church and wood of Keth (Keith), near Hadyngton.[3] The male line of this branch of the family in East Lothian seems to have terminated

[1] *Registrum de Neubotle*, Carta 77. Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i. 388.
[2] *Orig. Par.*, i. 206. [3] *Liber de Calchou*, i. Carta 35.

in the following generation, for we find in a deed about 1199 a confirmation by Hugo Lorens, and Eda his wife, daughter and heir of Symon Fraser, of the Church of Keth, land and wood.[1] The estate of Keith passed shortly afterwards, before 1230, to Philip Marescallus,[2] the Marshal of Scotland, and twenty years afterwards, in 1250,[3] this new family had assumed the name of Keth-Marescall, or Keith-Marischall, by which it was to be long known in Scottish history.

In the next reign, that of William, the brother of Malcolm and grandson of David (1165-1214), Bernardus Fraser or Fresil, Gilbertus Fraser, Thomas Fraser, appear repeatedly as witnesses to deeds in connection with Melrose.[4] Bernardus Fraser continues to appear very frequently through the succeeding reign—that of Alexander II. (1214-49).[5] He was evidently attached to the Court, followed it wherever it went, and turns up now at Traquair, then at Rokesburgh—two of the most important royal castles on the Borders at that period. He was made Sheriff of Stirling in 1234, and is said to have died in 1250.[6] In this reign, also, we have one attestation by Dominus Symon Fraser, Miles.[7] Gilbertus Fraser also attests twice at least in this reign. A Gilbert Fraser was Sheriff of Traquair under Alexander II.[8] He is said to have been the father of three distinguished

[1] *Liber de Calchou*, i. Carta 86.
[2] *Ibid.*, Carta 87.
[3] *Ibid.*, Carta 88.
[4] *Munimenta de Melros*, i. Cartæ ‡ 73, 120, 76, 48, 72, 74, 77, 101, 102, 104.
[5] See *Munimenta de Melros*, i. Carta 203 *et passim*.
[6] Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 553.
[7] *Ibid.*, Carta 276.
[8] See *Registrum de Neubotle*, Carta 121.

sons—viz., Symon, Andrew, and William. Symon, the eldest, is supposed to be the same with Symon, the father of the hero of Roslin. Andrew became Sir Andrew Fraser, Sheriff of Stirling. William was the well-known Chancellor, and Bishop of St Andrews in the time of Edward I.[1] In the next and last reign of the direct line of Malcolm Canmore—that of Alexander III. (1249-1285)—Andreas Fraser, son of the late Gilbert Fraser, Miles, with the consent of Beatrix his wife, gives to Kelso a carucate of land in West Gordon. This was about 1280.[2] He was dead in 1308. These references all testify to the power and spread of the family over the country, long before the death of Alexander III. Other members of the family were, besides, *vice-comites* or Sheriffs of Stirling and Fife, and some of them appear in Dumfries. It is in this last reign—that of Alexander III.—that a clear light begins to break on the descent and parentage of Symon Fraser, who fought at Roslin. Symon Fraser, his father, appears frequently in public documents, and his title is *vice-comes*, or Sheriff of Peebles. Dominus Symon Fraser, vice-comes de Peblys, is witness in 1266 to the resignation to Kelso of the lands of Ardach, in the parish of Lesmahagow.[3] Besides holding the office of Sheriff of Peebles, he was now or subsequently the keeper of the forests of Selchirche and Traquair. The same appends his seal to a deed of 1271, which, in granting lands, gives also the privilege of court of *bludwyth*, and *birthynsac*.[4] He is witness under the

[1] See *Registrum de Neubotle*, Carta 276, and *Liber de Calchou*, i. Carta 168 (*c.* 1300). Compare also *Liber de Calchou*, i. Carta 303, 361.

[2] *Liber de Calchou*, i. Carta 124.

[3] *Ibid.*, Carta 190.

[4] *Ibid.*, Carta 474.

same designation to a deed, still in the time of Alexander III., which refers to the lands of "Tor seu Windilaws in territorio de Edulfistun." Among other witnesses are Richard, Vicar of Peebles, Johannes Venator (Hunter), Erchebaldus de Hopekelioch.[1] In a deed drawn "apud Traquair—duodecimo die Decembris, anno regni nostri sexto decimo," that is, 1265—Symon Fraser attests.[2] He survived the death of Alexander in 1285-86. He and his son, also Symon, are mentioned among the *Magnates Scotiæ*, in the transactions connected with the settlement of the Crown after the death of the Maiden of Norway, in 1290.

The father was a man skilled and trusted in public affairs. We have a curious and interesting glimpse of him as a stern and worthy patriot, in a document which represents him as present at Carham, on the Borders, February 3, 1289. John le Massun, a Gascon merchant, lodged a claim with Edward I. against the Bishop of St Andrews and others, executors of the late king, Alexander III., for payment of a certain number of casks of Bordeaux, and other goods, said to have been delivered to the Scottish king. The English king, eager to assert his surreptitious authority, sent a brief empowering Thomas de Normanville and Gwychardus de Charrun to try the case, with a jury, at Carham. The executors of the Scottish king did not appear, but certain "attornies" came in their room, among whom were Simon and Richard Fraser. The nominees of Edward insisted on the case being conducted as in the sheriffdom of North-

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, Carta 216.

[2] *Mun. de Melros*, Carta 323. See also 324, 325, 347.

umberland. The representatives from Scotland refused, and would allow no authority in the circumstances beyond the law according to use and wont of the Marches. They finally absolutely declined the jurisdiction of the court. A decision was ultimately given, partially in favour of Massun, and on the ground, apparently, of his own declaration, although he was a worthless fellow, guilty both of fraud and felony,[1] and had escaped hanging through the clemency of Alexander. The representatives of the executors no doubt perceived to some extent the intended issue of the case, whether they fully recognised or not the steady time-biding craft of the English king, as he thus worked his way to the assumption of supreme power in Scotland.

Sir Simon Fraser next appears as one of the Barons of the Scottish Parliament held at Birgham, near Berwick, March 14, 1289-90.[2] This Parliament confirmed the provisions of the Treaty of Salisbury for the transport across the wild northern sea of Margaret the Maiden of Norway, now the Queen of Scotland. Edward's design was to have her married to his eldest son. This found favour with the Scottish leaders. But before the end of September in that year the young fair girl of Norway, about whom they were negotiating, was lying dead in a ship in a bay of the Orkneys.

The next public act of the life of Simon Fraser is his submission to the English king. Edward had gradually worked his way, until he was in a position to declare

[1] *Historical Documents* (*Scotland*), i. 73.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 129. For the Treaty of Birgham, see under 18th July 1290.

himself the superior and direct lord of the kingdom of Scotland. He had already got formal possession of the kingdom and castles. He now required the fealty of the nobles of the country. The oath was but too readily taken, and we find that on the 13th day of June 1291 the majority of the great nobles of the land swore allegiance to him in the most solemn manner, by touching and kissing the Gospels in that green meadow opposite the Castle of Norham, near the Tweed.[1] Fraser was not among the "milites" and "barones" who did homage that day. Perhaps he kept back as long as it was safe, or he found the ride from Oliver to Norham long and tedious. But next day, the 14th of June, he, along with his relation, Richardus dictus Syward, and Alexander, son of the Earl of Meneteth, appeared and swore their fealty, if not on the green meadow, at least in a certain manor (in quodam manorio), near Norham. The minute and indefatigable Johannes Erturi de Cadomo records the submission with his usual explicitness and sense of its importance.

The attempt made in the case of Massun, and other ominous circumstances, were as the gathering of the cloud about to darken and desolate the land. The old lord of Oliver Castle did not long survive the date of his allegiance to Edward. He rode up the Tweed to Neidpath or Oliver, there to die in the autumn of 1291, with the feeling of a dark shadow over the bright memories of the reigns of two prosperous kings. He passed away in the narrow chamber of his dim-lit peel, not without ominous foreboding of the troubles that were coming fast on his

[1] *Ragman Rolls*, 10.

well-loved land. But Providence was kind to the old man, for if death kept from him the knowledge of the heroism, it spared him the consciousness of the worse than brutal fate, of his gallant son.

Sir Simon Fraser, the son, now comes forward to take part in the troubled affairs of the kingdom. Before tracing his public career, we may take a glimpse of him in his more private capacity, which shows something of the personal character of the man, and his relations to the Church of the time. In the *Munimenta of Melros* we have two curious documents, in which he is the mover. They are between 1291 and 1306. The first, No. 355, is a "Carta de Kingildoris et Hopcartan." In this Symon Fraser, Miles, son and heir of the late Dominus Symon Fraser, for the salvation of his own soul, and the salvation of the souls of all his predecessors and successors, concedes to God and the Church of St Mary of Melrose, and the monks serving God there, that gift which his father made to those monks of the whole land of South Kingildoris,[1] with the chapel of St Cuthbert of Kingildoris, on the south side of the burn of Kingildoris (ex parte australi rivuli de Kingildoris), and similarly of the whole land of Hopcarthane, freely and absolutely as his father gave them. Then he adds to his father's gift free entry and exit for all their animals and men following them, for purposes of pasture, between Hesilyard and Haldeyhardsted. These lands and privileges are to be held by the monks as freely as he does himself, in a writing which he holds of Dominus Laurencius Fraser, late Dominus de Drumelliare. The witnesses are

[1] *South Kingdoris* in the charter, but this is an erratum.

Dominus Andreas Fraser, Miles; Willelmus Perer, formerly Sheriff of Twedal; Stephanus de Glenwhim, Robertus Hastinges, Patricius de Maleuile, Michail de Wythtone. The date of this deed is ascertained to be after 1296, as Laurence Fresel, of the county of Peebles, no doubt of Drumelliare, is on the *Ragman Roll* of that year, and he is now referred to as dead. The deed immediately following this[1] is by the same donor, and to the monks of Melrose. It is simply a sequel to the former. He gives to them free passage for their "cariagia," with "plaustris" (four-wheeled waggons) and "carectis" (carts), through his land of Hoprew, which lies lower down the Tweed than Hopcartan and Kingildoris. Then he specifies the road they are to take, which extends beyond the moor of Hoprewe—viz., from the burn which is called Merburn to the royal road (viam regalem) below the land of Edwylston. This can only mean what is now the road through the Meldon Glen. The witnesses are the same, and the deed has evidently been executed at the same time as the former one. Patricius de Maleuile was probably a son or relative of William de Maleuile, who is on the *Ragman Roll*, among those belonging to the county of Peebles, in 1296.[2] The name is still preserved in Mailingsland or Melville's land, about two miles from Peebles, in the valley of Eddleston. Sir Symon Fraser, in gratuitously granting free passage to the monks through the lands of Hoprew, was either less knowing or more pious than a neighbouring laird—William Purveys de Mosspennoc—who, some

[1] *Munimenta de Melros*, Carta 356.
[2] *Ragman Rolls*, 125.

years before, in the time of Alexander II., sold to them a similar privilege for twenty shillings sterling.[1] The very intimate relation to the Church on the part of Sir Simon Fraser, and others in alliance with him, shows very clearly that they were really the representatives of the national feeling of Scotland towards Rome, which had arisen with the Saxon Margaret, and had been fostered and developed by David I., his grandsons, and their successors. It was under the shadow, and latterly under the express protection of the Church, that the representatives of the old Scottish nationality fought against the feudal Normans. And when the fortunes of the Scottish national party were at their lowest ebb, it was to Rome that they looked for, and from Rome they found, moral aid and encouragement.

Simon Fraser, the son, did not succeed his father in his offices. He was tardy in submitting to Edward. It was not until the 23d of July 1291 that he appears to have taken the oath of allegiance. The "Symon de Freschele" who presented himself in the monastery of Lindores on that day was no doubt the younger Fraser. Edward, now acting as if he had a paramount right to the kingdom of Scotland, apparently did not trust the son to stand by his interests. Accordingly he passed over the claims of young Fraser, after the death of his father, and in January 1291-92 he confided the keeping of the Forest of Selkirk to William, the son of John Comyn. Next year Comyn was succeeded in the office by Thomas de Burnham. It is obvious that Fraser at

[1] *Muninenta de Melros*, i. Carta 238. *Willelmi Purveys de Mosspennoc* (now Mossfennan).

this period, and until the year 1300, was not recognised by Edward as favourable to his claims.

In the Treaty of Birgham (18th July 1290) between the Scottish Parliament and Edward, the latter bound himself most stringently to observe the independence of Scotland. Two years later (1292-93), when he had succeeded in seating his creature, John Baliol, on the throne as a feudal vassal, he, of his own authority, absolutely abolished the provisions of this treaty which stood in the way of his unlimited claim as Lord Paramount of the kingdom. By a purely arbitrary act, he swept away the whole provisions against Scottish litigants being obliged to plead before the English Parliament as the final court of appeal.[1] This is but one among many proofs of the thoroughly despotic temper of the Norman Edward—a temper which was the natural outcome of the haughty and inhuman feudal feeling of the time. It was a deep, perhaps not very explicit, sense of the nature of this feeling which led the Lowland Scots of the time —many of them Saxon fugitives from England—to most persistent opposition to the foreign and feudal rule of Edward. The fusion of the two kingdoms at this early period, had it been accomplished in mutual sympathy, would doubtless have produced many social advantages, and saved a world of misery. But the instinct of manhood was too powerful in the Anglo-Saxon to be obliterated or even long overawed by any arrogant pretensions to superiority, however imposing.

When the design of the English king to usurp the sovereignty of Scotland became distinctly manifest, Sir

[1] Burton's *History*, ii. 254.

Simon Fraser is found on the side of the Scottish or national party. He is not heard of certainly, in a public capacity, in the four years from 1292, the date of the accession of Baliol, but he comes forward against the English interest in the critical year of 1296. He was obviously one of the prisoners taken by the English in the battle of Dunbar of that year. This battle was fought on Friday the 27th April. The Earl of Dunbar, the head of one of the very oldest and most powerful houses of the kingdom, was now and for many years afterwards on the English side. He had, unfortunately, like most of the Scottish barons of the time, to consider the interests of his family in their English estates, as well as the general interest of the nation. In such a comparison we know, as a rule, which interest goes to the wall. He was now with Edward at Berwick. The town had been taken by a stratagem reprobated as mean in that age of chivalry; and man, woman, and child in the place were indiscriminately put to the sword. The streets were for days flushed with blood. The town itself suffered so much that it sunk at that period from the position of the great commercial centre of the northern part of the island to a fourth or fifth-rate place. The Countess of Dunbar heard the news of the sack of Berwick,—her sympathies had apparently been with the national party,—and, sinking the feelings of the wife in those of the patriot, she shut the gates of her Castle of Dunbar against both Edward and her husband. We do not know, of course, whether the earl or the king was the more enraged. A Scottish army, or rather assembly of men, said to consist of 40,000 foot and 1500 horse,

quickly gathered round the Castle of Dunbar to oppose the English. Edward sent forward from Berwick the Earl of Warenne, a great military leader, at the head of his troops. The Scottish army was signally defeated. The castle and countess were taken, with many prisoners of note. The slaughter of the fugitives was very persistent. It was continued to the confines of the Forest of Selkirk, whence the army had been mainly drawn. This fatal fight made Edward master of the country. Sir Simon Fraser was one of the captives. Among the petitions for sustenance made to the English king by wives of Scotsmen prisoners in England, in the list of September 3, 1296, we have that of Maria, wife of Sir Simon Fraser. She says her husband held in Scotland 200 *marcatas terræ*—merks of land; she is allowed for sustenance 50 merks of land.[1]

[1] *Historical Documents*, ii. 96. Among the prisoners of importance taken in the Castle of Dunbar was Fraser's relative, Sir Richard Siward. In 1292 Siward was in the English interest, and was made governor by Edward of the castles of Dumfries, Wigtown, and Kirkcudbright. In 1294 he was summoned to attend the English king in his expedition into Wales. In the interval between these two events Siward is said to have married the sister of Sir Simon Fraser, and when we hear of him again he is on the Scottish side, being captured at Dunbar. This is the statement in the *Roll of Caerlaverock*, p. 15, Wright's edition. But the wife of Siward at this time was not the sister of Sir Simon Fraser, but the widow, apparently, of his father, Simon Fraser, and probably Sir Simon's stepmother. We have the petition of the wife of Siward while he was a prisoner in England, of date [Sept. 3,] 1296. Under this date Maria, wife of Sir Richard Siward, who is in the prison of our lord the king, asserts that her husband had five hundred *marcatas terræ* or merks of land, with her heritage and dowry. She further says that she has nine children, of whom four are Sir Richard's by a former wife, and five Simon Fresel's, formerly her husband. She got forty pounds of land.—(*Hist. Doc.*, ii. 93.) Siward afterwards gained his liberty by again identifying himself with the cause of Edward. He became governor of Dumfries in 1309, and is supposed to have died in 1310. Among other petitioners of the same district with

Meanwhile Edward is extending his hold over the country. On the 14th June 1296 he was in Edinburgh, living in the Abbey of Holyrood. He took the castle after a siege, and then commenced his triumphal progress through the kingdom. This he completed in twenty-one weeks, exacting homage from most of the principal people of the country, particularly the lay territorial lords and the churchmen. In the early part of July, he formally degraded and deposed his creature, John Baliol, the king. Baliol had shortly before renounced his allegiance to Edward, though the validity of the deed is questioned. It is shrewdly supposed to be one of Edward's forgeries.

On the 24th of January 1297, Edward invited the Scottish nobles and barons to accompany him to Flanders, to take part in the war he was carrying on with the Flemings against the King of France. He had feudal pretensions there also, as Duke of Aquitaine. And when he was not fighting and massacring in Scotland, he was sure to be staining the fields of Flanders or of France with blood. Sir Simon Fraser, tired, naturally, of an English prison, joined the English forces in their Continental expedition. He was with Edward in Flanders in the end of this year—1296-97. Sir Simon Fraser, Banerettus, receives for his pay (*pro vadiis suis*), from 13th September to 11th November of this year—sixty days—4s. per day; his soldier (*miles*) receives 2s., and his two shield-bearers (*scutiferi*) receive 12d. each,—in all, £24. From the 12th November to the 19th of the same month,

Fraser is "Sarra," who had been the wife of Duncan del Glen, and now four years a widow. She asks her heritage, which is *seised*, in the hand of Earl Patrick [of Dunbar]. She is allowed to have the whole quietly. —(*Hist. Doc.*, ii. 96.)

eight days, he, his soldier, and shield-bearers, receive payment at the same rate at Ghent,—in all, 64s. [Dated 13th January 1298.]

It may be noted, in passing, that William Wallace, on the 11th September 1297, two days before the date at which Fraser's pay commences, had gained the memorable victory of Stirling Bridge, and Surrey, the English commander, had ridden from the disaster as fast as his horse could carry him to Berwick. It was clear that Edward had now business on hand nearer home.

As a reward for the services of Fraser in Flanders, and in consequence also of the fealty which he had now done to Edward, the English king issued from Ghent a mandate to restore his lands, forfeited on account of his share in the last war in Scotland. Curiously enough, there was serving along with Fraser in Flanders one Simon de Horsbroke. His lands, forfeited in the same cause, are also ordered to be restored to him in the same document, on account of fealty and similar service rendered to the king.[1] Horsbroke was a neighbouring Tweeddale laird, the friend and companion in arms of Fraser. His descendants still hold the lands. On March 27, 1299, Fraser's lands and tenements were formally restored to him.[2] From the terms of the first document, Fraser seems to have possessed lands in England as well as in Scotland—a circumstance which, in the case of the more powerful nobles, tended more than any other cause to render their allegiance to nationalism in Scotland unsteady.[3]

[1] *Historical Documents*, iii. 230. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 369.

[3] Among those dwelling on this side of the Scots' Water—the Firth of Forth—to whom an invitation is sent to accompany Edward to Flanders, is John de Barde (May 24, 1297). This is evidently Baird, and he may

Edward returned from Flanders in 1298, and as soon as possible collected an army to check the progress of Wallace and punish the Scots. In this he succeeded in the battle of Falkirk, which was forced upon Wallace, contrary to his own masterly tactics of delay. The defeat of the inferior army of the Scots was complete. The circular clumps of Scottish spearmen, who valiantly withstood the well-mounted English horse, were finally broken and dispersed. The centres of the clumps of spears were occupied by the archers of the Forest, already famous for their skill with the bow, acquired in hunting the deer on the hills of the Tweed, the Ettrick, and the Yarrow. The brother of the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, after arranging the archers, fell from his horse in the midst of them and was slain. The archers stood round him, and perished with him. After the fight, their tall and shapely forms, as they lay dead on the field, won the admiration and, we may hope, the sympathy of the victors.[1]

This circular clumping (*schiltroun*) was a new and bold method of military arrangement, first devised by the

have been of the house of Posso in Manor, or of the stock which had settled in Clydesdale. We have, however, no direct record of the name in the valley of Manor so early as this date,—not until the latter part of the fourteenth century. Previously to this, September 3, 1296, Edward, from Berwick-on-Tweed, sent letters to the sheriffs of the counties of Scotland, ordering restoration of lands to those who had sworn fealty to him. Among others addressed is "Thomas de Burdis, Vicecomes de Pebblis." *Burdis* is probably a mistake for *Bardis—i.e.*, Baird. The original document is considerably faded and defaced, and some of the names are doubtful. Joannes de Baddeby is Vice-comes of Berwick. — (*Hist. Doc.*, ii. 90, 91.) De Baddeby is the name of a proprietor in Manor as early as the time of Alexander II. (1214-1249).

[1] "Homines elegantis formæ et proceræ staturæ."—Walter of Hemingburgh, *Chronicon.* See *Scotland in 1298*, by H. Gough, xxx.

genius of Wallace, and left as a legacy to Robert Bruce.[1] It was the most important contribution of the time to the science of war. Without it Bruce would hardly have gained the battle of Bannockburn. It helped to secure Scottish nationality and independence.

After Falkirk, Wallace disappears from Scottish history. We know little more of him at all, until we hear of his capture and barbarous death. We have, however, one or two authentic notices of him as engaged in a sort of guerilla warfare, along with Sir Simon Fraser, against the English in 1304.[2]

It is very probable that Sir Simon Fraser accompanied Edward back from Flanders, and was present on the English side at this disastrous battle. He was now for some years an important and trusted officer of Edward I. in Scotland. He was made governor or warden of the Forest in the English interest. It was here his Scottish estates lay. But somehow it seems to have been the constraint of outward circumstances alone which kept him loyal to Edward. His heart was all along with the national cause. Possibly, also, he could hardly bear, as one of the old nobility of the country, to see the whole land flooded with foreigners, and the highest offices filled by men who, though originally of the same foreign stock with himself, and of equal feudal rank, were still strangers in his native country, where his forefathers had been right-hand men to its ancestral kings. If he had consulted his personal interest alone, or even mainly, he would have remained true to Edward. He had large estates, and his fidelity would have gained him greater.

[1] Burton, ii. 380.

[2] See below, 327.

By going over to the popular party he had everything to lose, and little prospect of anything to gain. Yet he finally abandoned the English interest when the fortunes of his country were far from promising, and when most clearly a self-seeking policy would have dictated continued allegiance to the English king.

So early as August 9, 1298, Fraser is suspected of secret complicity with the desperate and struggling Scottish party in the country. John de Kingston, Constable of Edinburgh Castle, writing to Walter de Langton, Lord Treasurer of England, refers to a rising in Scotland, headed by the Earl of Buchan (Comyn) and others, who are proceeding towards the Forest and Borders, where they have sympathisers. The Constable shrewdly suspects Sir Simon Fraser, governor of the Forest, of complicity with the ringleaders. He has been eating and drinking with them as in amity. The people of the Forest readily surrendered themselves to the expedition. Fraser left his post under pretext of giving alarm, but this proceeding the Constable thinks would have been unnecessary, if he had simply warned the garrisons in good time of the approach of the enemy.[1]

Be this as it may, the suspicion of Fraser's loyalty does not appear to have extended further at this period. It was not apparently shared in by the king. He is still trusted, and receives commissions to execute in the English interest. Along with the sheriffs of Roxburgh and Jedburgh, he is to fix the pay of the garrison of Berwick (1298).[2] The same year he and Sir Walter de Huntercombe—"the handsome Huntercombe" of the *Roll of Caer-*

[1] *Historical Documents*, ii. 302. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 332.

laverock—governor of Edinburgh Castle, are commissioned to distribute among the English garrisons in Scotland stores that are to be shipped at Berwick and centred at Edinburgh Castle.[1] A foray (*chevachée*) is contemplated from Edinburgh Castle upon the Scottish party under Buchan and Sir John de Soules, which is now harassing the English garrisons of the south. Sir Simon Fraser is very strictly commanded, in a letter direct from the king (November 25, 1298), at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to aid John de Kingston, constable of the castle, in his expedition, with twenty armed horse (*chevaus covertz*).[2] A few days later (December 1, 1298) it is arranged at Berwick that Sir Simon Fraser should ascertain the movements of the force under Lord Buchan, so that the foray from Edinburgh upon it may be made in a concerted manner in the course of a fortnight.[3] On July 16 of the same year Fraser is summoned to a meeting at York on the fortifications of the castles of Scotland, and the custody of the marches.[4] At the same time he is appointed one of a commission in regard to the delivery of Scottish prisoners out of the Castle of Berwick-on-Tweed.[5]

Shortly after midsummer of 1300, Sir Simon Fraser's pennon figured amid the glittering array of the nobility and knighthood of England that advanced to the siege of Caerlaverock. The splendid pageantry of the attacking force is graphically depicted by the eyewitness who watched it pass along the shore of the Solway, to the assault of the most perfectly finished Norman castle—

[1] *Historical Documents*, ii. 291. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 336.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 339. [4] *Ibid.*, ii. 379. [5] *Ibid.*, ii. 381.

triangular as a shield—which Scotland then possessed. The beauty and the complete fitness of its situation as a tower of defence, impressed the eye of the rhyming chronicler:—

"Caerlaverock was a castle
So strong that it did not fear siege
Before the king came there;
. . . . .
It was formed like a shield,
For it had only three sides in circuit,
With a tower at each angle.
. . . . .
And I believe you will never see
A castle more beautifully situated than it;
For at will could one see
Towards the west the Irish Sea,
And to the north the fair plain,
Surrounded by an arm of the sea." [1]

We know the heroic defence made by the garrison. When taken, some sixty men, to the astonishment of the vast host of Edward, were all the castle contained. Whether the great Norman feudal king gave a garment to each of the defenders of the castle, as one account alleges, or, as others maintain, hanged the most of them, may be left to be decided according to the view each may have formed of his temper. The sacker of Berwick was not unlikely to do the hanging.

Later in the year Edward granted a *souffrance* to the Scots until the ensuing Whitsunday, at the request of the French king. The truce was notified by Edward, with orders to observe it, to Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, a powerful and unwavering supporter of the English party

[1] *Roll of Caerlaverock*, 26 (Wright's ed.).

in the country, and to Sir Simon Fraser, warden of the Forest of Selkirk.[1]

But this year the troubles in the Border counties from the foraging Scottish party under Buchan and Soules are evidently increasing and causing apprehension to Edward's officers in Scotland. There is a letter to Edward from a person in Scotland (September 18, 1300 ?) on the subject, in which he says, "For God's sake, dear sire, employ some counsel that the sheriffdom of Peebles be better guarded than it is."[2] The loyalty to the king of Fraser's patrimonial district is thus obviously not to be depended on. Next year (September 13, 1301) the Sheriff of Peebles is asked by Robert Hastings, writing from Roxburgh, one of the great castles of the Borders, to assist him against Sir John de Soules, the enemy of the English king.[3]

The Scottish party was thus at but a low pass in the country, being little more than a guerilla band preying on the English garrisons of the south, and probably on the English border counties. Yet it is at this juncture that we find Sir Simon Fraser casting in his fortunes with the national cause, sacrificing the favour and patronage of the English king, and incurring, as he well knew, the implacable hate of an implacable monarch, one in whom revenge was hardly second to his lust of power. We can scarcely conceive any motive for such a course of conduct in the circumstances of the time, except the tardy outcome of a deep-seated patriotic feeling. What probably partly determined him in his new course was

[1] Redpath's *Border History*, 149.
[2] *Historical Documents*, ii. 418.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 434.

an event which had occurred at the Court of Rome, and which was decidedly in favour of the national party in Scotland. Certain Commissioners from Scotland, or Scotsmen at least, who were entirely opposed to the designs of Edward, had been living at Rome for some time, and striving by their representations of the facts of the case, and the state of Scotland, to influence the Papal Court in favour of the sovereign independence of their country. Among those who had repaired to Rome in the interest of the Scottish national cause, were William de Lamberton, Archbishop of St Andrews, and not improbably also William Wallace. This Court, whether in pursuance of its views of the extent of spiritual jurisdiction, or as the representative of the function of the empire as the final court of appeal in matters of international law in Europe, assumed or occupied the place of arbiter in international disputes.[1] The result of these dealings with the Court of Rome was that a Papal bull was sent to Edward, which he received from the hands of Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, in August 1300, when he lay with his army at the Castle of Caerlaverock. The castle had been taken after a memorable siege the previous June. This document absolutely denied his right of superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and pointed out the recent facts which were utterly hostile to his claim.[2] Edward incited his temporal barons to reply to this, and also himself made a formal answer, in which he most disingenuously perverted the facts connected with the Treaty of Birgham into an acknowledgment of his claims. His reply to the Papal bull was

[1] Compare Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii. 313. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 313, 314.

transmitted to Rome on the 15th May 1301. It is somewhat remarkable that Sir Simon Fraser's open defection from the English interest took place in the autumn of this year, just when the country must have been full of the news that the Court of Rome had emphatically pronounced in favour of the Scottish claims to independence. It is probable enough that this circumstance finally determined Fraser's wavering resolution to devote himself to the popular cause. He was probably at Caerlaverock with Edward when Winchelsea, after great perils by land, delivered the Papal bull into the hands of the king.

We have, in a letter of Robert Hastings to the English king,[1] written at Roxburgh the Thursday next after the Assumption of our Lady, a very curious and instructive picture of the men who were banded together against Edward for their country's independence. The scene lies as far back as about the year 1300. Edward is in possession of nearly all the important towns and castles of the kingdom, but the unquenchable Scottish spirit was beginning to stir to action in the midst of what seemed a hopeless state of affairs. Sir Simon Fraser is Edward's governor of the Forest. His duty was to ward it in the English interest. As we have seen, some of the keener-eyed officers of Edward in Scotland, such as Sir John de Kingston, the governor of Edinburgh Castle, had their suspicions that Fraser was not much to be trusted. They thought him a Scot at heart, an Englishman only by oath, which was but of little account in those days. Be this as it may, on a day in March 1300, two

[1] *Nat. MSS.*, ii., No. viii., about 1300.

knights, Sir Ingram de Umframville and Sir William de Bailliolf, made a raid into the Forest of Selkirk, and harried it, in despite of the warden. They waited in the Forest until the great lords of Scotland assembled, and there came to them the Bishop of St Andrews—the well-known Lamberton—the Earl of Carrick, the Earl of Buchan, the Earl of Menteith, Sir John Comyn, the son, and the Steward of Scotland. The town of Roxburgh they found to be too well guarded for an assault, and they remained for some days inactive. And now there arose a scene among themselves very savage and characteristic of the manners and the inflammable state of feeling of the period. Sir David de Graham demanded from the Council the lands and the goods of Sir William Waleis, on the ground that he was going out of the kingdom without the will or leave of the guardians. Whereupon Sir Malcolm Waleis, the brother of Sir William, rose and declared that the lands and goods of his brother could not be given up, until it was found by a jury whether he went out of the kingdom for profit of the kingdom or not. On this the two knights got excited, gave the lie to each other, and drew their knives. Now was the time for the outburst of jealous feeling on the part of the members of Council. Graham was with Comyn, and Waleis with the Earl of Carrick. Buchan and Comyn imagined that treason of some sort was intended, and Comyn leaped on the Earl of Carrick and seized him by the throat, while the Earl of Buchan performed the same office on the Bishop of St Andrews. It was not till the Steward of Scotland and others went between them that the scuffle was stopped. The Earl of

Carrick, the father of King Robert Bruce, is said to have died in 1305. The probability is, however, that it was the son, and not the father, who took part in this scene, as the former was currently designated Earl of Carrick before this period.

In the beginning of September [1301] we find that Fraser has actually joined the Scottish rising under Buchan, Sir John de Soules, and others. Buchan and Soules, with their men, are lying at Loudon. Sir Simon Fraser is in command at Stanhouses. The keeper of Lochmaben Castle asks for reinforcements from Edward, under apprehension of an assault by those parties.[1] On the 10th September Soules attacked Lochmaben Castle, and, after doing damage to the garrison, withdrew his forces. On the 13th, Robert Hastings is preparing to attack and capture Soules and the others, if he can. The Sheriff of Peebles is ordered to collect troops.[2]

This harassing, irregular, and almost predatory form of warfare continued, and apparently grew in strength, greatly to the annoyance of the English garrisons in the country, and to the exasperation of the English king. About the beginning of Lent, 1302-3, Fraser, in conjunction with Sir John Comyn, of the family of Baliol, delivered the severest blow which the foreign occupiers received during this period and until Bannockburn. A new and strong body of troops had just been sent into Scotland under Sir John de Segrave, Guardian of Scotland and Governor of Berwick. Segrave, either with the whole or a large portion of his forces, was in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. For the sake of forage, apparently, he had

[1] *Historical Documents*, ii. 431. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 43.

divided his troops into three portions, which were at the distance of some miles from each other. During the previous night Fraser and Comyn, with a body of men chiefly collected in Lanarkshire and Tweeddale, marched rapidly from the Tweed or the Upper Ward across country, and in the early morning surprised and routed Segrave's own division of the English forces near Roslin. Segrave himself was wounded and taken prisoner. It is said that the little Scottish army met and defeated in succession the two remaining divisions of their enemies. There is a statement that the Scots put to death the captives in each successive fight. The explanation of this is that it was necessary in self-defence. The Scots army was not large enough to defend itself, and also guard the prisoners. If true, this, though not in itself justifiable, was but a reprisal for atrocities quite equal to any perpetrated by them. The cruelties of the English rule could leave the Scots in but one, and that a highly exasperated, mood. The affair of Roslin was the last formal stand made by them against the English until Bannockburn, but its success had, no doubt, the effect of maintaining the spirit of the national party.

The popular rising, in which Fraser was a leader, seems to have come to an end in the early part of 1304-5. There was a capitulation of the staff who had professed to rule Scotland in name of King John, which was ratified at Strathorde, 9th February 1304. It was signed on the part of the Scots by Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, acting guardian and governor, Sir John de Soulis, Alexander de Lyndsay, Simon Fraser, and others. They were to have their lives and estates, but to suffer short periods

of exile. This was quite a new policy, savouring of clemency, which Edward had adopted, forced on him by experience of the obstinate Scot.[1]

In Lent 1304, which Edward piously kept at St Andrews, he there held a Parliament or Convention, in which he declared the garrison of Stirling, still holding out against him, the last stronghold of the national party, to be outlaws. Simon Fraser and William Wallace were both summoned to this Parliament. Apparently they distrusted it, for neither appeared. Wallace had not been included in the saving clauses of the capitulation of the 9th February, and not improbably Fraser distrusted the king's faith, or he nobly preferred to stand by Wallace. Both were accordingly pronounced outlaws. We find Fraser and Wallace acting together after this Parliament, engaged apparently in a desperate cause. On the 12th March 1304 a gift is made to Nicolas Oysel, "vallette" of Earl Ulton, for bringing tidings to the king of a defeat "wrought by the lords William de Latymer, John de Segrave, and Robert de Clifford, upon Simone Fraser and William le Walleys at Hopperowe."[2] This is obviously Happrew, in Peeblesshire, part of the estate of Sir Simon Fraser. Wallace and Fraser seem also to have been acting together in Lothian in March of this year.[3] Wallace was taken next year, 1305, and, as is well known, was barbarously executed in London on the 3d of August. It was not, apparently, until now that Fraser actually submitted to Edward. His right-

[1] Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii. 332.

[2] Burns, *War of Independence*, ii. 126, who does not know where Hopperowe is.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 127.

hand friend and helper had been taken. The struggle now seemed fruitless, if not insane.

In a Parliament held at Westminster, October 13, 1305, special mention is made in an ordinance of two offenders only—viz., Alexander de Lindesai and Simon de Fraser. Lindesai is frequently mentioned in previous years along with Fraser as apparently a companion in arms. They were together in Flanders. They were doubtless neighbours — the Lindesay estates lying in Upper Clydesdale, while Fraser's were chiefly in the adjoining valley of the Tweed. With a quite unusual clemency, which tells of politic motive, and indicates a change in the unrelenting brutality of Edward's policy to the poor country he was seeking to annex, Lindesai is ordered to continue out of Scotland for half a year, while to Fraser is allotted an exile of four years. In that period he is prohibited from residing in England or France.[1]

Next year, 1305-6, came the crisis in the fortunes of Robert Bruce, fifth of the name, and grandson of that Robert Bruce who had contended with Baliol for the crown of Scotland. The slaughter of Comyn at Dumfries took place on February 10th of this year; and Bruce, now resolved, indeed driven, to risk fortune and life in the struggle for the kingdom, was crowned at Scone on the 27th of March following. The disastrous affair at Methven, near Perth, where Aymer de Valence surprised and routed Bruce, took place on June 24th of the same year. Bruce was now forced to his long course of wanderings and perils, and most of his near relatives

[1] Redpath's *Border History*, 156.

were visited with the most bloody reprisals. But for the hardihood and strong personal attachment of Sir Simon Fraser, Bruce would have been taken at Methven, and thus probably the whole course of Scottish history would have been changed. He was three times beaten from his horse, and three times reseated by the hands of Simon Fraser. But what he did for his master, the patriot could not do for himself. He was then, or shortly afterwards, taken prisoner, and, of course, suffered the usual doom of the enemies of Edward. He was drawn, hanged, and beheaded at London. In the same year John de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol,[1] suffered the same fate. His head was also placed on London Bridge, but with the privilege of being above the heads of Wallace and Fraser, "because he was a blood-relation of the king"![2] As Fraser appeared for execution, his fine personal appearance and noble bearing drew expressions of sympathy, not only from the tender hearts of the women, but from the less susceptible men of the rough London crowd.

I do not know what people may call this kind of conduct; but when a man in private life advances a fraudulent plea for another man's property, and he is unsuccess-

[1] "Dominus Symon Fresir, Scottus, adductus Londonias prius fuit tractus, postea suspensus, tertio decapitatus, et caput ejus positum super pontem Londoniarum juxta caput Willelmi Waleis."—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, 204. It is remarkable with what fine complacency, even approbation, those monkish chroniclers record this sort of work. It is the same in the Chronicle of Melrose. When Henry II. mutilated, as they record, the faces of the innocent children—boys and girls—of the Welsh King Rhys and his nobles, he only performed justice upon them (fecit justitiam). But the murder of a churchman — Thomas à Becket — is met with a terrible howl of denunciation and the prophecy of divine retribution. —See *Chronica de Mailros*, under 1165 and 1171.

[2] *Chron. de Lanercost*, 205.

fully resisted, and the law is too weak to protect the person aggrieved, and finally the aggressor kills his victim with brutal aggravations, we call this murder in the first degree. Ultimately, I trust, there may be such a sense of international morality in the civilised world, that, where even a person called a king does precisely this thing, perhaps on a manifold scale, he may be required to answer alike for fraudulent usurpation and the sealing of it in blood.

It is said that Edward had very enlightened, advanced, and comprehensive ideas of statesmanship; that he wished to fuse England, Scotland, and Wales into one grand monarchy, with anticipation of a great future for the whole. The extreme exasperation he felt, and the savage cruelty he showed to the patriotic Scots who opposed him, were quite a natural result of the baffling and frustration of his wise conception and beneficent designs. In the history of nations, as in that of philosophy, we are very apt to interject into ancient actors and thinkers modern ideas, at which, probably, they would have stood amazed. At the best, this view of the character and motives of Edward is a mere hypothesis. But, supposing him to have held that it was infinitely better for Scotland to submit to his rule, that hardly gave him a right to use violence, brutality, and murder to enforce his views. The people of Scotland were not to be slaughtered and disembowelled because they did not acquiesce in his view of what was best for them. He would have shown his enlightenment and sense of what was best for humanity more, if he had refrained from trying to put a nation, with as fair rights as the greater crowd he ruled,

in a better position than they desired, at the point of the sword. But the truth is, he was no better than his time in thought or feeling. He was simply the highest type in England, perhaps in Europe, had not Rudolph of Hapsburg been his contemporary, of an arrogant feudal lord, who could not bear resistance to his will, who was exasperated by the very appearance of opposition, who was dominated, besides, by a restless lust of power, and who had a spontaneous delight in revenging himself in the blood of any man who stood pre-eminently in the way of his imperious temper. He could, doubtless, be politically clement; but it was greatly against the grain. When, in the beginning of 1304, he showed himself in some degree merciful to the Scots—always excepting the patriot Wallace, the very type of popular resistance to his purpose—it was a mere matter of policy forced on him by experience of the temper of the people, and of the difficulty of carrying out his assumed prerogative by violence and terrorism. His true character was thoroughly shown by the especially barbarous execution of Sir Simon Fraser, when no purpose was to be served except the gratification of limitless revenge. It was when this new and temporary policy of clemency proved as futile as that of violence which had preceded it, that the natural temper of the man blazed out with a lurid fire. Feeling that death was coming on in the midst of his great and overwhelming demonstration against the Scots, he willed that his body should not be buried until Scotland was subdued, that the flesh should be stripped from the bones, and the skeleton carried at the head of the aggressive army into Scotland. The conception was

too revolting and atrocious for any survivor to carry out, even in an age when feudal devotion was the supreme law of life. But it proved that the man who could, while dying, entertain and cherish it, was one in whom the idea of great, enlightened, and beneficent purpose was certainly subordinate to personal exasperation and revenge. "The greatest of the Plantagenets" died at Burgh le Sands, on his progress to Scotland, on 7th July 1307.[1] On his tomb he appropriately bears the proud distinction of his life—"Malleus Scotorum."

It may no doubt be said, regarding the execution of Fraser, that he had more than once violated his oath of allegiance or fealty to Edward, and that he suffered as a traitor. This, again, is to treat the actions and obligations of the thirteenth century as if we were dealing with a settled government of the nineteenth. The feudal oath which Fraser took was, as all feudal oaths, a purely conditional one. The overlord was bound to protect, and the vassal to serve, so long as the protection lasted. Anything that occurred in Scotland to the overthrow of Edward's power in the country, would have set his vassal there free. And if the vassal himself, as in Fraser's case, sought to shake off his feudal obligations to Edward, it must be kept in mind that any oath he ever took was a forced oath. It was exacted from him by pressure of exile, loss of liberty, loss of estate, peril of life. And further, this pressure had been brought by Edward upon Fraser, the subject of another kingdom, through his fraudulent and violent attempt to gain the supremacy of that kingdom. Fraser had a perfect right to resist

[1] Burton, ii. 358.

Edward from the beginning of the whole proceedings, as was virtually held by the Papal Court, the arbiter of international disputes in Europe at the time. The compulsion which he exercised over Fraser did not better Edward's right to exact the oath. Will casuists tell us how far such an oath is binding?—how far the element of obligation enters into a compulsory oath, and one exacted by a fraudulent pretender from a person absolutely in his power? When this question is settled, we shall be able to appreciate the fact, or estimate the degree of Fraser's personal demerit in the matter of the swearing.

But the truth is, the moral sense of the time was such that an oath of this sort was not regarded as anything more than a temporary expedient, or acknowledgment of a passing turn in the order of political supremacy. Absolution in the thirteenth century was regularly given by the Church for the violation of such an oath. Edward I. himself secretly sought and got from the Court of Rome absolution from his oath regarding the Forest Charters. He played fast and loose with his feudal oaths to the King of France. Yet we hear nothing of his perjury, from the admirers of "the greatest of the Plantagenets." And the men of the period who swore most of those oaths, and who violated most, were the ecclesiastics highest in office. William of Lamberton, the most patriotic churchman, and, indeed, Scot of the day, swore more oaths of allegiance to Edward, and broke more than probably any other man, lay or clerical, in the kingdom. This was the example of men of the highest religion and morality of the time, and how could a layman be better than his supreme spiritual guides and advisers?

Sir Simon Fraser left two daughters, coheiresses. Sir Gilbert Hay of Lochquharret, or Locherworth, near the head of the Esk and the Tyne, married Mary, the elder daughter. With her he got the Oliver and Neidpath estates in Tweeddale. Sir Gilbert Hay was a man well worthy of the daughter of Sir Simon Fraser. He had evidently imbibed a large portion of her father's spirit. Along with Sir Alexander Seaton and Sir Neil Campbell, he entered into a solemn bond, 1308, to defend the liberties of the country and the rights of King Robert Bruce against all mortals, French, English, and Scots.[1] The son of this marriage, Sir Thomas, father of Sir William Hay of Locherworth, was taken prisoner at the battle of Durham in 1346. A remoter descendant married, during the regency of Albany, Jean, eldest daughter of Hugh Gifford, of Yester. His grandson became Lord Yester in the fifteenth century. The family thus united the estates of the Giffords in East Lothian and the Frasers in Tweeddale. John, the eighth Lord Yester, was made, by Charles I., Earl of Tweeddale, 1st December 1646. He obtained possession of the ancient estate of the Tweedies of Drummelzier, on the ruin of that family. This estate he bestowed on his second son, William Hay, whose descendants held it for a considerable period. John, second Earl of Tweeddale, was made Marquis of Tweeddale, 26th December 1694. His son was influential as a statesman, and active in promoting the union between the two kingdoms. He had the soul of a poet, and his song of "Tweedside" is the first indication we have of the beauty of the Tweed having, at

[1] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, ii. 23.

least in comparatively modern times, penetrated the heart of a dweller on its banks. The daughter of the first Marquis, Lady Margaret, married Robert, Earl of Roxburgh. She was the subject of a song, entitled "John Hay's Bonnie Lassie." This was said to be the composition of a joiner lad on the Tweed, who had the misfortune to be smitten by the charms of the high-born Lady Margaret. The Hays must have had about them a remarkable atmosphere of poetry. The Tweeddale family sold their estates in Peeblesshire, in 1686, to the first Duke of Queensberry.

The younger daughter of Sir Simon Fraser married Sir Patrick Fleming or Fleeming (Flandrensis), of Biggar, and son of Robert Fleming, who had strongly sided with Bruce in his struggles for the crown. The son of Sir Malcolm, the elder brother of Sir Patrick, was made Earl of Wigton, in 1342, for his eminent services to the family of Bruce. This branch of the family became extinct, the last of the line having sold the estate and earldom of Wigton, in 1371-72, to Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. Eventually Fleming of Biggar was made Lord Fleming, and then Earl of Wigton, by James VI., 19th March 1606. The Biggar family continued to represent the main line of the Flemings and the junior branch of the Frasers for several hundred years. It is now merged in that of the Lords Elphinstone. The statement, made by some writers, that the last Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver left a son who founded the northern houses of Lovat and Saltoun, is wholly without historical foundation.

CHAPTER XIII.

THOMAS THE RHYMOUR, AND THE EARLY ROMANTIC SCHOOL OF POETRY IN THE LOWLANDS.

The struggle with Edward I. not only interrupted the social prosperity of the kingdom; it interfered seriously with the literary and intellectual development which had undoubtedly begun under David I. and the Alexanders, and of which we can still detect some faint traces. The Abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Jedburgh were at this early period schools of a higher type—all that was to be found for High School and College. They preserved what kind of learning there was at the time, and, during the period of upwards of one hundred and sixty years, from David I. to the death of Alexander III., were useful as teaching institutions in the Lowlands. We find several references in the chronicles and charters to the sending of the sons of the lairds to those cloister schools. Matilda, the widowed Lady of Molle, a distinguished family of the thirteenth century, gave to the Abbot and Convent of Kelso a portion of her dower lands, on condition of their maintaining her son with the better and more worthy scholars in "the poors' house" of the

abbey. "Exhibebunt Willelmo filio meo in victualibus cum melioribus et dignioribus scholaribus qui reficiunt in domo pauperum."[1] The date is 1260.

Michael Scot, the reputed "Magus" or Wizard, but a perfectly definite historical character, several of whose writings we still have, was unquestionably connected with a Border family, and may have got his taste for science and philosophy quickened and fostered in some abbey school by the Tweed. He was born, according to tradition, in the Castle of Balwearie, in Fife. His father was a Sir Richard Scot, his mother Margaret Balwearie of that ilk, who brought the property to her husband. Michael, the son, was born in the early prosperous period of Scottish history under the Alexanders. There was then some chance for the life of thought and study among the sons of the lairds ere the English ruffian came to trample the smaller kingdom down under his brutal violence. For some generations after Edward I. there was none. Scot acquired the more mature part of his education first at Oxford, then at Paris and Toledo. Recently a piece of evidence has turned up to show that he was living very early in the thirteenth century, as he had already risen to distinction in the pontificate of Honorius III., who died in 1227. He translated several of the Aristotelic treatises from the Arabic into Latin, with accompanying commentaries. He was employed for this purpose by Frederick II., who died in 1250; and he must have been among the earliest men

[1] *Liber de Calchou*, Carta 173. On the phrase *exhibebunt in victualibus*, Mr Innes remarks that it has given rise to the academical term of *exhibitions* (Preface).

of letters who knew more than the scantling of Aristotle familiar to the schoolmen before the middle of the thirteenth century. In fact, the reputed wizard played a much more important part in the history of European thought and speculation than is commonly supposed. He was the first to translate from the Arabic and introduce Averroës to the Latin world, and thus give importance to the philosophy of Aristotle in Western Europe. Roger Bacon attributes the first of his translations to the year 1230, and adds that they were accompanied "with wise commentaries."[1] The two expressly bearing his name are *De Cœlo et Mundo* and the *De Anima*. His work very probably included, besides these, the treatises on *Generation* and *Corruption*, *The Meteors*, *Parva Naturalia*, and commentaries on the *Physics and Metaphysics*. Scot translated the treatise of Alpetrangi in 1217, and it is probable that the Aristotelic translations were done about this date, as they were known to William of Auvergne and Alexander de Hales. He is said to have written also *Imagines Astronomicæ*, *De Chiromantia*, *De Signis Planetarum*, and several other treatises. His works are usually dedicated to Etienne de Provins. A treatise entitled *Michaelis Scoti Philosophi de Secretis Naturæ Opusculum* (Lugd. 1580), was dedicated to the Emperor, Frederick II.[2] Renan conjectures that the hard judgments passed on Scot by Roger Bacon, who also, however, commends him, by Albertus Magnus and Dante, are due to his being supposed to have veiled his unbelief in Church doctrines under Averroism. He was a cherished per-

[1] *Opus Majus*, 36, 37. Cf. Renan, *Averroës*, 205.
[2] Draudius, 955.

sonage at the Court of the Ghibelin Hohenstaufen,—the centre of Arabian culture, oriental manners, and relations in the popular imagination with Astaroth and Beelzebub.[1] At the same time, he did not rate Aristotelianism highly. He had evidently a distinctly observational or scientific turn, and he was in philosophy a Platonist, with a tendency to mysticism and belief in supernatural agencies. He studied especially astronomy, alchemy, and medicine—probably also the magic or superstitious form of science of the time. Scot was indeed a man of very wide acquirements—mathematician, physician, linguist, and astronomer. He had evidently studied the moral, psychological, and scientific side of Aristotle, rather than the logical, which was then the common one—indeed, that alone known to Western Europe. The latter part of his life was apparently spent in Scotland. He is said to have survived the death of Alexander III., and to have been one of the ambassadors sent to bring home the Maiden of Norway. If he was born about 1190, as seems likely from the date of his first work, these statements are hardly probable. It was possibly his son who was so employed. Michael Scot is said to have died a monk in the Abbey of Holme Cultram, and to be buried there. Tradition and Sir Walter Scott represent him as being laid in Melrose. For long after his death he was held in high repute on the Continent among the doctors of the thirteenth century. Roger Bacon, Joannes Picus, Count of Mirandole, and others refer to him in terms of commendation. He figures also in the *Inferno*, among the diviners who had sought illegitimately to

[1] Renan, *Averroës*, 210, 288. Cf. Jourdain, Haureau, and Thurot.

wrest the secrets of God, and whose heads were consequently turned so as to overlook their shoulders. He is described as small about the flanks, and as knowing the play of magic fraud.[1] Now his least worthy pursuits, exaggerated or imaginary, are those by which alone he is popularly remembered. The traditions which connect him with wizard deeds by the Tweed, and at the Tower of Oakwood, not far from fairy Carterhaugh, are all that represent his life-work. He has passed into the realm of weird imagination; and the ride of William of Deloraine from Branksome to Melrose, the dread opening of the wizard's tomb, and the finding of his "mighty book," are conceptions too powerfully and vividly portrayed ever to give place to a general appreciation of his historical character. His illustrious namesake was not, however, the first to give prominence to his wizard fame, or to surround his name with a weird glamour. In the old ballad, we find that his memory was a source of awe even to the stout-hearted Scottish soldiers of the time of the Stewarts. For the following question is put to the troop who by chance spent a night in the tower where he was born:—

"What gars[2] ye gaunt,[3] my merrie men a',
What gars ye look sae eerie,[4]
What gars ye hing your heids sae sair,
In the Castle o' Balwearie?"

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[1] "Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco."—Cant. xx. 116.

[2] Makes, causes. [3] Yawn.

[4] Afraid of the supernatural.

Another mediæval writer, Joannes de Sacrobosco (Halywoode), born in Galloway, learned, we are told by several authorities, his *literas humaniores* among the monks of Candida Casa and Dryburgh. He was the author of several astronomical and arithmetical works, particularly the *De Sphæra Mundi*, for long a text-book in the Scottish universities in the mediæval period. He is said to have died in 1240, in the time of Alexander II.

But it was chiefly in poetry that the early Border faculty showed itself, from about the time of the War of Independence. There are still extant romances, and fragments of others, which seem to point to the southern Lowlands as their scene, to Borderers as their authors, and to the language prevailing there as that in which they were composed.

The best-known name, and that with which a definite work is associated, is that of Thomas of Erceldoune, or Thomas the Rhymour of Erceldoune, or simply Thomas the Rhymour. The historical facts about him are few, and they are mostly given by Sir Walter Scott in his notice of him in the *Minstrelsy*.

Some time in the thirteenth century there lived in a tower to the west of the village of Erceldoune, now Earlston, on the Leader, about two miles from its junction with the Tweed, a personage known as Thomas of Erceldoune. To the east of the village stood a tower or castle of the great Earl of Dunbar—the friend of Thomas, and probably his feudal lord. Erceldoune was then a hamlet in the forest, and the earl's castle a hunting-seat, used sometimes by the kings, for royal charters were occasionally dated there. In what year Thomas was born, or

when exactly he died, we can only conjecture. But he was witness to an undated charter of Petrus de Haga of Bemersyde, and we may refer it to somewhere between 1260 and 1270.[1] Therein he is named "Thomas Rymor de Ercildune." Then his son and heir ("filius et hæres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun"), in 1294 or 1299, conveys to the Trinity House of Soltra "all the lands which he held by inheritance (*hereditarie tenui*) in the village of Ercildoun." The father was therefore probably dead by this time, and he is thus supposed to have lived from 1219 to 1299. This latter date is that printed in the charter as quoted by Sir Walter Scott. Dr Murray gives it from the Cartulary of the Trinity House of Soltra in the Advocates' Library as 1294. He thinks, moreover, that the charter of the lands in Erceldoune to Soltra does not imply that the Rhymour himself was already dead, or that these were given by his son. The son and heir of Thomas the Rhymour, mentioned in the charter, might, he conceives, be the Rhymour himself, who possibly now retired from the world to the privacy of a religious life. This supposition is, on the whole, gratuitous. The designation, "son and heir of Thomas Rhymour of Ercildoun," is very specific; and had it been the Rhymour himself who in his lifetime was divesting himself of his property, for such a purpose, there would almost unquestionably have been an express reference to the purpose in the deed. Then, why should the Rhymour have given his lands to the House of Soltra, when his design was, as is supposed consistently with the narrative of Harry the Minstrel, to retire to the House of Faile, near Ayr? But the desig-

[1] See John Russell, *The Haigs of Bemersyde*, 71 *et seq.*

nation of the granter, "Thomas de Ercildoun," as opposed to "Thomas Rymour de Ercildoun," is very significant, and points, apart from rebutting evidence, to the son of the Rhymour.

Thomas of Erceldoune was reputed prophet and bard. Even in his lifetime he was regarded as a seer and foreteller of the future. Witness his current prophecy of the death of Alexander III. We have no certain record of any prediction of the Rhymour's in his own words, or in a form that can be referred precisely to his own time. But a MS. of the early part of the fourteenth century—probably before 1320—contains what was said to be one of his predictions, and thus takes us back to a period within thirty years of his death:—

"La Countesse de Dunbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoune quant la guere descoce prendreit fyn, e yl la repoundy e dyt"—

"When man as mad a kyng of a capped man;
When mon is leuere[1] othermones thyng then is owen;
When loudyonys forest, ant forest ys felde;
When hares kendles[2] othe herston;[3]
When Wyt and Wille werres togedere;
When mon makes stables of kyrkes, and steles[4] castles with styes;
When Rokesbourh nys no burgh ant market is at Forwyleye;
When the alde is gan ant the newe is com that don nocht;
When Bambourne is donged with dedemen;
When men ledes men in ropes to buyen & to sellen;
When a quarter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten markes;
When prude prikes[5] & pees[6] is leyd in prisoun;
When a Scot ne may hym hude[7] ase hare in forme that the Englysshe ne sal hym fynde;

[1] Comparative of *lief*, willing—*i.e.*, prefers other men's things to his own.
[2] Litter. [3] Hearthstone. [4] Place, set.
[5] Pride rides on horseback. [6] Peace. [7] Hide.

When rycht ant Wrong ascenteth to gedere ;
When laddes[1] weddeth louedis ;[2]
When Scottes flen so faste, that for faute of ship, hy drowneth hem selue ;
Whenne shall this be ? Nouther in thine time ne in myne ;
Ah comen & gon with inne twenty wynter ant on."

The *Bambourne* of these lines is probably Bannockburn ; the Countess of Dunbar is no doubt the wife of the earl to whom the Rhymour predicted the death of Alexander. These circumstances would take the verses back to very early in the fourteenth century. Like the majority of the most ancient Scottish records in prose or verse, they are in a southern form of English. Is this not a confirmation of the popular tradition regarding the almost universal sweep of Scottish manuscripts made by Edward I.? We have several undoubted southern transcriptions of northern originals. How otherwise were these originals carried southwards ?

In his threefold character of poet, prophet, and visitant of a supernatural realm, "another cuntree," known afterwards as the land of Faërie, Thomas appears in that ancient and interesting poem, or series of poems, preserved for us in its best form in the Thornton MS. in the library of Lincoln Cathedral. This was transcribed, we are told, by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire, about 1430-40.[3] Fytte I. represents the ancient tradition of his communings with the Queen of Faërie, and his visit to her mysterious land. Fyttes II. and III. record the prophetic utterances which he learnt from the

[1] Youthful male servants.
[2] Ladies, daughters of the laird or baron.
[3] See Murray, *Thomas of Erceldoune*, p. lvi.

queen. The poems show a pretty frequent exchange of the third and first persons in the course of the narrative. The transitions from the one to the other are generally very abrupt. This circumstance may very readily be explained by supposing that we have an original poem, probably by the Rhymour himself, made the basis of subsequent elaborations. This view is confirmed by the fact that the version preserved by the Thornton MS. is a southern one, with obvious signs of being a transmutation of an earlier northern original.

The prophecies attributed to Thomas are "in figures," dark (derne), and obscure, as is the fashion with the oracular. They have also a strange feeling of gloom about them, and are strongly marked by a foreboding of danger, violence, and bloodshed. This comes out especially in the later ones with which he is credited :—

> "At Threeburn Grange,[1] in an after day,
> There shall be a lang and bloody fray ;
> Where a three thumbed knight by the reins shall hald
> Three Kings' horses, baith stout and bauld,
> And the Three Burns three days shall rin
> Wi' the blude o' the slain that fa' therein."

Again :—

> "Atween Craik Cross and Eildon-tree,
> Is a' the safety there shall be."

The oldest have in many cases a quite distinct Arthurian tinge and cast. They are, indeed, exactly what was to be expected from one who lived in the period of the Rhymour, who was a strong patriotic Scot, who survived the death of Alexander, and was shrewd enough to discern the grasping ambition of the English king, and

[1] Probably *grains*, branches of a burn towards the head.

whose memory and imagination were full of the old Arthurian legends of the Lowlands. Such a man could not but see that the traditional oppression of the ancient Britons was about to be repeated on their Saxon successors: he believed and hoped in a final deliverance; and he readily adapted to the circumstances of his own time the floating legends of Cymric sufferings, temporary deliverance, and at least unsubdued hopes.

There can be no doubt that subsequently to the time of Erceldoune, and during the whole course of the wars with England, it was common to form predictions in his name, either before or after the event narrated. The motive of this was to strengthen the conviction of the Rhymour's inspiration, and, while the event was still future, to determine, as far as possible, its occurrence. The prophetic utterances of the Rhymour are referred to by Barbour in *The Bruce*, about 1375; by Wyntoun in his *Cronykill of Scotland*, which was finished about 1424; and in the *Scalachronica* of Sir Thomas Grey, Constable of Norham, in 1355. Henry the Minstrel also alludes to him and his prophetic powers in connection with the recovery of Wallace from apparent death at Ayr. However we may look on those broken and fragmentary rhymes, there can be no doubt that during the first and second Wars of Independence, and during even the later struggles of Scottish story, those predictions, real or mythical, based on the authority of the Rhymour, cheered the hearts of the Scottish peasant soldiers on the morn of many a well-fought field—whether prosperous as at Bannockburn, or disastrous to their country as at Halidon, Flodden, and Pinkie.

But the communings of the Seer of Erceldoune with the Queen of Faërie, and his mysterious visitations of Fairyland, are the points that bring him home to the imagination as both historical and ideal. A man of power which the intelligence of the people of the time could not explain, must necessarily be connected by them with that supernatural world in which they firmly believed. That Thomas drew his strength of prophecy and of poetry from some mysterious communion with spiritual forms and personalities, was the most rational and the most plausible view of the age. Hence the explanation of his absence from home by supposing him to be in Fairyland, from which he came back wise and sad, and readily obedient to a higher call, burdened with a mystery of knowledge and experience, the full import of which he could only darkly reveal to the dwellers on "middle-erd." We can see in him, as he lived, an obvious awakening to the powers of outward nature,— the feeling of the spring-tide and the rejoicing birds, the love of lonely lingering among the hills, the sense of the unspeakable silence and solitude of the benty moorland, and the poetic yearning for some form of a mysterious life with which he might commune on the wild. Thomas of Erceldoune was the man of the time who felt these influences, and doubtless expressed them, more powerfully than any other. The mythical story of his intercourse and selection by the Queen of Faërie was the imaginative embodiment, in a free, wild, and graceful form, of the Rhymour as he appeared to the people around him — the theory of his somewhat mysterious life.

What can be finer or more true to the feeling for nature than these lines?—

"In a mery mornynge of Maye,
By Huntle bankkes my selfe allone,
I herde the jaye and the throstylle cokke,
The mawys menyde[1] hir of hir songe,
The wodewale[2] beryde as a belle,
That all the wode a-bowte me ronge.
Allone in longynge[3] als I laye,
Undyre-nethe a semely tree,
[I was war of a lady gay,
Come rydyng owyr a fayre le.]"

The vision which breaks on the eye of his solitude is the huntress of the wild uplands, fair as "the sonne on someres day":—

"I ryde after this wyld fee,[4]
My raches[5] rynnys at my devyse."

And she passes freely, light of heart:—

"A whylle scho blewe, another scho sange."

Some grossness is mingled with the conception, just because there was a fair ideal conceived, not purely, but with difficulty, in a rude and coarse age.

But, in the poetic fragments connected with the Rhymour, not only is there a feeling for the softer side of natural beauty: there is obviously a sense, and an æsthetic one, of the wilder side,—of the dark recesses of

[1] Gave forth a plaintive note. So—

"The mellow mavis that hails the night fa'."

[2] Wood-lark.

[3] For "longynge" the Lansdowne MS. has "a loning," which is probably correct, meaning a broad green lane leading to the grass-field, where cows pasture.

[4] Beasts, especially deer, A.S. *feoh*.

[5] Deer-hounds that follow by scent.

the mountain, and of the mysterious caverns among the moors. These the Saxon imagination had peopled with fierce and unlovely shapes for ages before. This finds its highest and best expression in Beowulf, and in the powers of evil dwelling in solitary meres and places, which he assailed and overcame. The Rhymour was destined to make his journey in the dark ways, by the foundations of the hills and the deep sources of the springs, and to do it in company with one who, unlike the forms of the older faith, possessed something of the weakness and the tenderness of humanity. This dark passage underneath the Eildons is given with a Homeric simplicity and grandeur :—

"Scho ledde hym in at Eldone hille,
Undir-nethe a derne[1] lee ;
Whan it was dirke als mydnyght myrke,
And euer the water tille his knee.
The montenans[2] of dayes three
He herd bot swoghynge[3] of the flode.
At the laste, he sayde, 'Fulle wa' es mee !
Almoste I dye, for fawte[4] of fode.' "

The "mountane graye" and the "benttis browne" of the following lines anticipate the feeling that is to be found in the subsequent ballads of the Border :—

"Scho broghte hym agayne to Eldone tree,
Under-nethe that grenewode spraye,
In Huntlee bannkes es mery to bee,
Where fowles synges bothe nyght and daye.
'Fferre owtt in yone mountane graye,
Thomas, my fawkone bygges a neste;

---

[1] Dark, or secret.
[2] Duration.
[3] Soughing, pulsing, as of moving water.
[4] French *faute*, want.

A fawconne es an Erlis[1] praye,
Fforthi in na place may he reste.
Ffare wele, Thomas, I wend my waye,
For me by-houys[2] ouer thir benttis[3] browne.'"

And so she passed away into the solitude of the moorland.

The mysterious connection which the Rhymour had formed with the land of Faërie was fated to control his life and destiny. According to the popular feeling, he lived having in his heart the expectation of a call awaiting him from the invisible. And so, when he feasted with his friends in that grey tower to the west of the thatch-covered hamlet of Erceldoune, and heard that a hart and a hind, the most timid and gentle creatures of the wilds, calmly paced through the village, he rose obedient to the call; and as one upon whom fate had laid a mild yet overpowering hand, he passed away with them into the darkness of the forest that fringed his tower, never again to be spoken to on earth. Yet if we may freely interpret the references to him in popular poetry, after his disappearance, we may suppose that his form was not unknown on the spaces of the pastoral uplands of the Borders. One line records him as

"The busteous beirne on the bent,"

or huge man on the benty moorland.[4] And in the old

[1] For "Erlis" the Lansdowne MS. reads "the heron's," and the Cambridge "an yrons"—that is, "erne's." [2] Behoves.

[3] The common hair-grass (*Nardus stricta*) of the southern hills.

[4] So Harry the Minstrel—

"But boustouss noyis so brymly blew and fast."

This refers to the spectral scene in Gask Hall. *Boustous* is here violent, powerful, great in degree. Gothic, *busca*. *Brymly* is fiercely.

"We saw a bousteous berne cum ouir the bent,
Bot hors, on fute, als fast as he mycht go."

—Sir D. Lyndsay, *The Dreme*. The personage here is John the Commounweill.

"Prophisies of Rhymour, Beid, and Marlyng," collected from about 1515 to 1525—with which Sir David Lyndsay amused and imbued the youthful fancy of James V. —we have the following stanza :—

> "Well on my way as I forthe wente
> Over a londe beside a lee,
> I met with a baron upon a bente,
> Me thought him semely for to see."

Thus it was that for long the impassioned eye of the traveller on the moor would descry the form of the Rhymour as a spiritual vision, amid the scenes which he had most loved on earth, and where it would be most appropriate he should spend his immortality, or at least vouchsafe his presence to any prophetic patriot.

Our main historical interest in Thomas of Erceldoune is his supposed authorship of the romance of *Sir Tristrem*, which is regarded by some as the oldest Scottish romantic poem, and the introduction thus into Scotland of an epoch of romantic minstrelsy which lasted for at least a century and a half. This famous poem, as we now have it, was discovered by Ritson in the Auchinleck MS. in 1744. It appears to have been transcribed towards the middle of the fourteenth century. It was first edited and annotated by Sir Walter Scott.

Sir Walter's view of the authorship is that *Sir Tristrem* was the production of Thomas of Erceldoune, and that it was composed by him probably in 1250. He further maintains that this vernacular poem was written by Thomas directly from the British traditions which had been handed down in the Lowlands from the Cymric people of Strathclyde ; and that it was the original and

prolific source of the subsequent French and German romances regarding Sir Tristrem. If this were so, it would follow that *Sir Tristrem* is one of the very earliest works in *Inglis* which exists, and that the use of the vernacular at the Court of Scotland, then resident almost entirely in the south-eastern Lowlands, was greatly earlier than in England, where Norman-French language, influence, and usages prevailed. As Mr Ellis says, "Our ancestors appear to be indebted to a Scottish poet for the earliest model of a pure English style."[1]

The evidence for the side of Erceldoune's authorship of *Sir Tristrem* cannot be regarded as perfectly conclusive, but it has high probability. There are the oft-quoted lines of Robert Mannyng or Robert de Brunne in his Chronicle of 1330:—

> "I see in song, in sedgeyng tale
> Of Erceldoun, and of Kendale,
> Non tham says as thai tham wroght,
> And in ther saying it seems noght.
> That may thou here in *Sir Tristrem;*
> Ouer gestes it has the steem,
> Ouer all that is or was,
> If men it sayd, as made Thomas."

Mannyng, in part a contemporary, thus distinctly records the belief of the time that Thomas of Erceldoune was the author. In the poem itself there is some evidence of his connection with the work. The copy of the romance we have is, no doubt, a southern version of the northern original. But there is very explicit reference to Thomas of Erceldoune as at least the source whence the poem was derived:—

[1] *Specimens of Early English Poetry*, i. 184.

"Y was at [Ertheldoun],[1]
With Tomas spak Y thare,
Ther herd Y rede in roune
Who Tristrem gat and bare,
Who was king with croun,
And who him fostered zare,
And who was bald baroun
As thair elders ware
Bi zere
Thomas telles in toun
This auentours as thai ware."

There are other references of the same kind in the course of the poem. It would not be a great stretch of presumption to hold that this third form of narrative had been adopted by Thomas himself as author, instead of speaking in the first person. But the probability, on the whole, is that this southern version, obviously founded on a northern poem, refers correctly enough to the northern original, and that this, now lost, was the production of Thomas of Erceldoune. Thus far we may go. But Sir Walter Scott does not appear to have made out that the *Sir Tristrem* of the Auchinleck MS. is an original composition, or even the transmuted copy of what was an original production by Thomas of Erceldoune, much less that this was the source of the Continental romances on the same theme. There can be no doubt that, besides the Welsh traditions regarding Tristrem and Yssilt (the Welsh for Ysonde), he, his exploits, and his adventurous love had formed the subject of Armorican poems and French romances before the time of Erceldoune. And Scott is almost certainly wrong,

[1] The blank is supplied from foot of preceding page of MS., where the first line had been written as a catch-word. This was first noticed by Mr G. P. M'Neill, *Sir Tristrem*, 97.

as Price maintains he is, in identifying Thomas of Erceldoune with Thomas of Brittany. The latter lived long before the time of Erceldoune, about the year 1200. He was probably an Armorican. He seems at least to have had access to British books or sources of information in Cornwall and Armorica, and to have rendered these into Norman-French, and, it may be, into Latin. He was obviously the great predecessor of the Continental romancists; and, among other tales, left a version of *Sir Tristrem*. There was no doubt a French prose *Sir Tristan* about 1170. The *Sir Tristrem* of Erceldoune, supposing him to be the author, was thus not an original composition, but a rendering into "quante Inglis" of a foreign model. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as the source of the Continental romances of *Sir Tristrem*. It is simply, directly or indirectly, an offshoot of these.

But that the version supposed to be that of Erceldoune was even taken from the French is by no means certain. Very possibly it had another and intermediate origin. Mr Price has quoted an authority for the fact that there is an Icelandic version of *Sir Tristrem* of very ancient date.[1] This was a translation executed by order of King Hacon in 1226. The order of the English poem is almost identical with that of the Icelandic. We may thus suppose either that both versions, Icelandic and English, were taken from a common source, French or Celtic, or that the English version—the "quante Inglis" —of Erceldoune was made from the Icelandic. I think the latter an exceedingly probable supposition. The Scandinavian element was so strong in the Lowlands, and

[1] Warton, *History of English Poetry*, i. 197, note.

the community of feeling on many points so great, that an author was likely to look to the northern sources for the forms of romances which had had their local origin even in the Lowland district itself. No doubt at this period the Lowlands were indebted to Scandinavian sources both for legend and song. The local influence and tradition probably turned the attention of Erceldoune to the Icelandic poem, and led him to transform it into the vernacular.

But even if we suppose the author of the vernacular *Sir Tristrem* to have been indebted for the story to a foreign model, we need not altogether throw out of account local influences. When we consider that Erceldoune lived on the very borders of the ancient Cymric kingdom, at a period when distance from the time of the historic events would lead living memory to clothe them with the interest of the mythic and the ideal, it is quite probable that he may have been drawn to his theme at least through surrounding local tradition. Tristrem came down in Cymric story, not only as a famous warrior, but as musician and poet. He is credited, too, with the constitution of the rules of the mediæval science of hunting—wode-craft. He was associated with the times and the Court of Arthur. As "Tristan mab Tallwich," he was held a disciple of Merddin or Merlin, a name intimately connected with Strathclyde, and naturally well known to Thomas of Erceldoune—a name, moreover, to be afterwards associated with his own as prophet and bard all down the stream of Scottish story. Tristrem is mentioned also along with Llywarch Hen, who was the contemporary and friend of Urien Reged,

and the bard of his exploits. All these things bring *Tristrem* very close to the home of Erceldoune—at a time, too, when the Cymric race had not been absolutely amalgamated with the intruding Saxon, and the Cymric language might still be spoken by the residue of the people who yet bore the name of the Bretts, and who dwelt high up on the wild watersheds of the Teviot, the Ettrick, and the Tweed.

It is no uncommon thing to find contemporary poetic interest centred in the same theme. Every cultured and susceptible minstrel of the thirteenth century, whether at the Court of England, of France, or Germany, or even in remote Iceland, was prompted to deal with some part of the circle of Arthurian legend. *Sir Tristrem*, as a poem, has precisely the characters which might have been looked for in a romance written in the Lowlands of Scotland in the thirteenth century. The peculiar Cymric feeling for nature and natural objects, so marked in the ancient books of the bards of Wales and Strathclyde, has almost disappeared. The interest of the poem lies entirely in story and incident, and the variations that may be played on the chord of illicit and adventurous love. There are conditions of strong emotion, and the concluding scene of all, supplied by Scott from the French fragment, where Ysonde reaches the shore of Armorica, hears that her well-loved knight is lying stretched "as stone so cold," passes rapidly into the presence of death, and throws herself down upon the bier in a passionate expiring embrace, is finely and pathetically conceived and told. There is, perhaps, a touch of the Celtic feeling in attributing the passionate and irresistible attraction of Tristrem and

Ysonde for each other to the power of the love-potion. This seems to symbolise that sense of overmastering fate and destiny, that yielding to the supernatural and impersonal, which the Cymri felt as around and above them, and whose all-controlling power they could only bewail. It is this artistic touch in the poem which softens the reader's feeling of personal demerit in the actors. But the poem is Saxon throughout in its interest founded on action. We miss the meditative sympathy with the sterner side of nature of the earlier Cymric poems. The second stanza at once tells us that we are in a new world of feeling:—

"This semly somers day
In winter it is nought sen;
This greues[1] wexen al gray,
That in her time were grene:
So dos this world, Y say,
Y wis and nought at wene;
The gode bene al oway,
That our elders haue bene.
(To abide)
Of a knight is that Y mene;
His name, it sprong wel wide."

Scott, in a note on this passage, points out that "an ancient poem preserved in the Cotton Library opens with a similar piece of morality":—

"Winter wakneth al my care,
Now this leves waxeth bare.
Oft Y sike and mourne sair,
When hit cometh in my thoht,
Of this worldis joie how hit goth all to nouht.
Now hit is, and now hit nis,
Als tho hit ner nere Y wis."[2]

[1] Probably *groves*.

[2] *Minstrelsy*, v. 371.

It is not at all impossible that the corresponding lines in *Sir Tristrem* are an interpolation of some reciter subsequent to the time of Erceldoune. But there can be no doubt that these first four lines of the poem are Saxon all through, and Lowland Scottish in feeling to the core. We have the key-note of the regret for the passing summer, and the shivering feeling for winter, which runs through the whole of Scottish mediæval poetry and well down to our own time. These, at least, could hardly be borrowed from a French romance.

Sir Walter Scott has referred to certain other compositions as belonging to this period, and as relating to the Border or Lowlands of Scotland. He regards the two romances of *Golagros and Gawane*, and *Galoran of Galloway*,[1] as of this character, and as compositions prior to the end of the thirteenth century. They are characterised in his view by an absence of French words, common enough after the time of Robert Bruce, because of the closer union with France. They contain also allusions to the possession of parts of Scotland by British tribes.

There is also the *History of Sir Edgar and Sir Grime*, the scene of which is laid in Carrick, in Ayrshire. *Hornchild* is another romance of the same order. The scene of it is laid in Northumbria. The names of persons and places in it are purely Saxon, and there is no allusion to Norman names or manners. Then there is the romance of *Wade*, which is twice alluded to by Chaucer. Wade's Castle was near, in fact on, the southern Roman Wall.

[1] This must refer to *Sir Gawan and Sir Galoran of Galloway*, incorrectly printed by Pinkerton—*Scottish Poems*, iii. 197 (1792). It appears in Sir Frederic Madden's Collection as the *Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*, printed from the Lincoln MS.

Sir Walter is even inclined to regard this, though probably on insufficient grounds, as the production of the author of *Sir Tristrem*, Thomas of Erceldoune.[1]

Sir Frederic Madden, on the other hand, holds that there is no existing Scottish romance poem which can be referred to an earlier date than the last half of the fourteenth century. He disputes the claim to the authorship of *Sir Tristrem* put forward on behalf of Thomas the Rhymour. He maintains that the earliest Scottish romantic poem, or indeed continuous composition in verse of any sort, is that entitled *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyght*, and this he ascribes to the time of Richard II. (1377-99). This is the central romance of the Scottish group. The other principal poems, also referring to Gawayn, are *The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*, and *Golagros and Gawaine*. These he ascribes to the fifteenth century. With regard to the authorship of those poems, Madden attributes *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyght* to the personage dimly known as Huchowne of the *Awle Ryale* (Royal Palace), who probably composed the poem before Barbour finished *The Bruce*, which was between 1370-80. He is identified by some writers with the Sir Hew of Eglintoun mentioned in Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*. In this case he lived between 1320 and 1376. Wyntoun, who was made Prior of St Serf's, Lochleven, in 1395, thus refers to Huchowne in a well-known passage :—

> "Huchowne
> That cunnand[2] wes in literature ;
> He made the Gret Gest off Arthure,

[1] *Minstrelsy*, v. 57 *et seq.*

[2] Skilful.

And the Awntyre off Gawane,[1]
The Pystyll also off swete Susane,
He wes curyws in hys style,
Fayre of facund,[2] and subtile,
And ay to plesans and delyte
Made in metyre mete his dyte."[3]

The other two poems, *The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*, and *Golagros and Gawane*, Madden regards, from similarity in style, stanza, and subject, as by one author, but not the work of Huchowne. They belong also to a later date—the fifteenth century—and are due to Clerk of Tranent, mentioned by Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makaris*:—

"Clerk of Tranent, eke he has tane,
That made the *Awnteris of Gawane*."

This of course supposes that the *Awnteris of Gawane* of Dunbar's reference are identical with the *Awntyrs of Arthure*; while the *Awntyre of Gawane*, attributed by Wyntoun to Huchowne, is the same as *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyght*. Among the other romances and ballads of this cycle are *Syre Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle, The Jeaste of Syr Gawane, King Arthur and the King of Cornwall, Marriage of Sir Gawaine*. These were not, however, written exclusively by Scottish authors,[4] and are probably of later date than the three main poems just mentioned.

Sir Frederic Madden further holds that Sir Walter Scott and others are wrong in ascribing the origin or

[1] According to Professor Schipper *The Gret Gest of Arthure* and *The Awntyre of Gawane* are one poem, and the same as the *Morte Arthure*, edited by Perry, 1865. *Poems of William Dunbar*, 287.

[2] Speech. [3] Writing.

[4] Compare *Syr Gawayne*, a Collection of Ancient Romance Poems, by Scotch and English Authors, by Sir Frederic Madden: 1839.

materials of those poems to local floating Celtic traditions. They are versions more or less changed and embellished by their authors of the Norman-French romances. *Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knyght* is based on the *Roman de Perceval* of Chrestien de Troyes, who wrote between 1170 and 1195.[1] Madden has not been able to point to the Norman-French prototype of the second romance—*The Awntyrs of Arthure*. He refers the first part of it to a Latin legend of the middle ages. The entire outline of *Golagros and Gawaine* is, according to him, borrowed from the *Roman de Perceval*.

With regard to the romance of *Hornchilde*, the scene of which is laid in Northumbria, the question is as to the priority of the French or English form of it. The *Roman du Roi Horn* is the work of one who names himself *Mestre Thomas*, and it is referred to the latter half of the twelfth century. Ritson and De la Rue regard it as the original of the English poem on the same subject. But the English *Horn Childe*, or *Geste of Kyng Horn*, has been held by Percy, Warton, Wright, and Madden as the earlier of the two.[2] It seems, in fact, to go back to a date very near the Conquest. Hornchilde was well known to Chaucer, and in repute in his day:—

> "Men speken of romances of price,
> Of Hornchilde and Ippotis,
> Of Bevis and Sir Guy."

The general sources of the romantic poems of Britain, relating to the Arthurian cycle, are, according to Madden, the prose romances which follow: 1. The *Roman du Saint*

[1] *Syr Gawayne*, 305.
[2] Compare Craik, *English Literature and Language*, i. 124.

Graal, sometimes entitled the *Roman de Joseph d'Arimathie*, composed by Robert de Borron. 2. The *Roman de Merlin*, by the same. 3. The *Roman de Lancelot du Lac*, by Walter Map, who wrote in the time of Richard I. (1189-99), and who died about 1210. 4. The *Roman du Quête du Saint Graal*, by the same. 5. The *Roman de la Morte Artus*, by the same. 6. The first portion of the *Roman de Tristan*, by Luces, Seigneur de Gast, in the time of Henry II. (1154-89). 7. The conclusion of *Tristan*, by Helie de Borron, in the time of Henry III. (1216-72). 8. The *Roman de Gyron le Courtois*, by the same. "Of these the first six were written in the latter half of the twelfth century; the remainder in the first half of the thirteenth—that is, in the course of one hundred years. To these must be added the metrical romances of Chrestien de Troyes, composed between 1170 and 1195, as also the later prose compositions of Rusticien de Pise and his followers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."[1]

We may admit that Madden has shown in several cases the Anglo-French original of the Scottish romances, but he has failed in other particulars to complete his theory of an absolutely foreign derivation of the whole. He has not given sufficient prominence to the origin of those Norman-French romances themselves, which are the embodiment and the embellishment of Celtic, in fact, Welsh, Cornish, and Armorican, traditions. These traditions were common to the whole Cymric race—to the Cymri of Strathclyde and to those of Cornwall and Armorica. It was on the Continent, no doubt, that the

[1] *Syr Gawayne*, Introd., x.

reminiscences of the old history were, for the most part, idealised and worked into romantic form—first of all by Celtic hands, and then by the Norman-French writers. But it is very probable that the original Cymric tales and traditions were known and cherished in what was once the Cymric kingdom of Strathclyde. And it is not at all unlikely that, in this northern Cymric district, even the forms of those traditions elaborated by the bards of Armorica and Wales were popularly known. The History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, finished in 1138, at least twenty years before the known date of a single Anglo-Norman romance of the Arthurian type, contained the germs of nearly all of them, and was, in fact, the Latin embodiment of Cymric traditions. These were widespread and powerful, even in Britain, and were exceedingly likely to inspire poetic feeling and effort. The translations of Wace and Layamon, with the additions by the latter, obviously made from Welsh sources, show the stream of impulse in Britain. The constant reference of the romance writers to Latin originals certainly suggests the probability of a much larger body of romance in that language than is commonly admitted. It was entirely the policy of Henry II. and the Plantagenet kings to bury their novel and forcible acquisition of the English throne in the tradition of their descent from a remote British antiquity—to serve themselves heirs, in fact, to the dynasty that held the throne prior to Harold and his kin. The constant repetition of the statement that Henry deposited Latin books in monasteries, containing the old tales and stories, shows at least that these were existent, common, and popular.

The internal evidence in the case of certain of the recognised Scottish romances seems to point to a native origin. The principal figure in these—Gawayn—has both a historical and mythical connection with the Scottish Lowlands, and with Cumberland—the southern part of the Cymric kingdom of Strathclyde. In the earlier course of the story that gradually gathered around him, he fits in with the historical circumstances. He is the eldest son of Loth, King of the Lothians, by Anna, the half-sister of Arthur. Along with his two brothers he assists Arthur in his war against the Saxons. He is made by Arthur Lord of Galloway. He is the friend of the Caledonian Merlin, and in the later form of the abstraction of Merlin from earth within the four-walled tower of air, rendered adamantine by enchantment, in the forest of Broceliande, it is on the ear of Gawayn, while searching for the lost wizard, that there falls the voice of Merlin, asking the knight to seek him no more among living men.

In the *Awntyrs of Arthure* the adventures of Gawayn are associated with the localities of Strathclyde, including Carlisle and Cumberland, with its Forest of Inglewood, and Tarn of Wathelyne, the modern Wadling, said now to be meadow-land.

In reply to Arthur, a knight, whom he meets in the Forest of Inglewood, at the Terne Wathelyne, is made to say:—

> "My name is Sir Galleroune, with owttyne any gyle;
> The gretteste of Galowaye, of greves[1] and of gyllis,[2]
> Of Konynge,[3] of Carryke, of Conyngame, of Kylle,
> Of Lomonde, of Lenay,[4] of Lowthyane hillis:

[1] Woods. [2] Probably glens. [3] Other reading, "Connok"—*i.e.*, Cumnock. [4] Other reading, "Losex," better Lenaux—*i.e.*, Lennox.

Thou hase wonnen thaym one werre, with owttrageouse wille,
And gyffene thame Sir Gawayne, and that myne herte grilles.
But he shal wring his honde, and warry[1] the wyle,
Or he weldene my landes, at myne unthankes.
By alle the welthe of this werlde, he salle thame neuer welde,
Whilles I my hede may bere ;
But he wyne thame one werre,
Bothe with schelde and with spere,
Appone a fair felde !" [2]

After the knights, Sir Galeron and Sir Gawayn, had fought, and both been badly wounded, the king says :—

"'I gyffe to thee, Sir Gawayne,' quode the kynge, 'tresoure and golde,
Glamorgan's landis, withe greuys so grene ;
The wirchipe of Wales, to welde and to wolde,
Withe Griffons Castle, kirnelde[3] so clene ;
And the Huster's Haulle, to hafe, and to holde
Wayfurthe and Wakefelde, wallede, I wene.'
. . . . . .
'Now, and here I gyffe hym,' quod Gawayne, 'with owttyne ony gyle,
Alle the landes, and the lythes, fra Lowyke[4] to Layre ;
Commoke, and Carrike, Conyghame, and Kylle,
Als the Cheualrous knyghte hase chalandchede als ayere,
The Lebynge, the Lowpynge, the Leveastre Ile,[5]
Bathe frythes,[6] and forestes, frely and faire,
Under your lordship to lenge the while,
And to the Rounde Table to make repaire ;
I shal reseff him in felde, in foreste so fair.'
Than the kynge and the quene,
And alle the doghety by-dene,
Thorow the greuys so grene,
To Carlele thay kayre." [7]

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[1] Curse.
[2] Stanza xxxiii.
[3] Embattled.
[4] Other reading, "Lauer."
[5] Other reading—
"The Lother, the Lemmok, the Loynak, the Lyle."
Lother is probably Lowther.
[6] Enclosed woods.
[7] Stanzas lii., liii.

Further, the names of the knights mentioned in the *Awntyrs of Arthure* are unmistakably of northern origin. We have—

> "Sir Owayne fytz-Vryene and Arrake fitz-Lake,
> Marrake,[1] and Menegalle[2] that maste were of myghte."

Owan, son of Urien, is one of the best-known personages of early Cymric history in Strathclyde. Arrake, otherwise Errake, we may have in Erickstane, probably his grave, at the watershed between the Annan and the Tweed. Near it Erickle, or Erickhill, grandly towers above the mounds that cover the historic Castle of Fruid. Marrake, otherwise Mewrike, may be represented in Merrick, near Loch Doon. Menegalle may, as Madden conjectures, be for Menyduke. It is not unlikely the original of Minnigaff. Is it at all probable that these names and references to localities were borrowed from a foreign original? In this case, must they not have been Normanised? How much, then, of the story are we to attribute to the foreign source, to local tradition, and to individual invention? Why should we suppose that the local and historical scene of the original actors had nothing absolutely or directly to do with the subsequent traditions and idealised memories?

But whatever be the origin of those early Scottish romantic poems—whether they were transcripts from the French, or whether they were, at least in some cases, directly inspired by local tradition and transmitted incident, or whether, as is most likely, the French version was known and liked because it chimed in with local belief and sympathy, and thus took a local colour

[1] Other readings, "Sir Drurelat." [2] Moylard.

and individualism in the rendering—this, at least, is true, that these romances may be taken as representing the poetry of the Lowlands in the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth centuries. It is thus of extreme interest to us to know thoroughly what the form of poetic feeling in those remote days was—what its tone, its general character, and specific features.

The character and subjects of these romantic poems could not be better put than in the words of the ancient translation of Marie's *Lai le Freine*, in the Auchinleck MS. :—

"We redeth oft and findeth y-write,
And this clerkes wele it wite,[1]
Layes that ben in harping,
Ben y-founde of ferli[2] thing:
Sum bethe of wer, and sum of wo,
Sum of joie and mirthe also,
And sum of trecherie and gile,
Of old auentours that fel while;
And sum of bourdes[3] and ribaudy,
And many ther beth of fairy;
Of al thinges that men seth,
Maist o loue forsothe thai beth."[4]

Action intensely felt and vividly portrayed, the strong sense of physical vigour and manliness as the ground and title of honourable place and property in the world, a readiness to recognise those qualities in others as a bond of social equality, a chivalrous sense of truth and honour in speech and deed—these, intermixed with but a low sense of sexual morality, and with but little conception of anything beyond immediate success and temporal prosperity, are the good and the bad elements of

[1] Know. [2] Wonderful. [3] Jests.
[4] Weber, *Metrical Romances*, i. 357.

those early romances. Yet how clear and ready is the action, how emphatic the sense in every case of the need of personal vindication when challenged, how great and noble the feeling of human personality, as a thing to be preserved at all costs, not to be tainted by untruthfulness, unmanliness, or cowardice. A limited ideal it was, perhaps, yet grand in the noble efforts it evoked—grand in the power of will it constrained, and in the sense of voluntary subjection to the law and order of the times which it involved. And its reward is so ready. Merit never waits long for its recompense, or demerit for its retribution. The simple manners of the times point instinctively to a king who has all and instantaneous power to crown the hero and to hang the blackguard. The king is supposed to be absolute overlord of endless unoccupied property, and to be promptly under a sense of kingly justice, ready to bestow it on the man who has earned it. The coward is at once branded by the popular consent, and the criminal hardly appears even to receive the sentence of justice, which is, without much ado, enacted upon him. All is simple, direct, and intuitional in morals and action. Photographic, realistic, to us painfully so, are the traces of conflict and combat, literal as those of the Homeric heroes. Queens, the ideal women of the time, witness them, and occasionally shriek and swoon, yet this is but the clear carrying out of the conception which is at the root of the whole life of the times. If personal conflict and the flash of skilled arms be the highest ideal of life, why should it be carried out in a corner; why should it be hid from the scrutiny, and, it may be, the sympathy or the revulsion of the

highest feminine tenderness? If womanly instinct sympathises with it, it is well, or it may be so for a time; if it revolts from it, then let us consider the truth and morality of the ideal. Perhaps it was this latter power of womanly feeling which so worked through the ages, that deeds done in honour of these very women themselves, at their instigation and under their applause, came in the end to be felt by them as the mere husks of tribute to their charms, as little higher than the conflicts of savage animals for a mate, until at length feminine tenderness frowned on useless bloodshed, and led men to value life as more than a thing that might exhibit itself in its highest ideal as a pageant of tournament or as a splendid risk of duel.

Some touches there are of a gentler sort than the stern action portrayed. The free joyous outdoor life is finely pictured here:—

"Thus refreschit he his folk, in grete fusioun,
With outin wanting in waill,[1] wastell,[2] or wyne;
Thai turssit[3] up tentis, and turnit of toun,
The roy with his Round Tabill, richest of ryne.[4]
They drave on the da[5] deir, be dalis and doun,
And of the nobillest be-name[6] noumerit of nyne;
Quhen it drew to the dirk nycht, and the day yeid[7] doun,
Thai plantit doun pauillonis, proudly fra thine.[8]
Thus journait gentilly thyr cheualrouse knichtis,
Ithandly[9] ilk day,
Throu mony fer contray,
Our the mountains gay,
Holtis[10] and hillis."[11]

[1] Abundance of choice. [2] Fine bread. [3] Trussed, packed.
[4] Territory, kingdom. [5] Doe. [6] Took.
[7] Went. [8] Thence. [9] Diligently.
[10] Forests. [11] Stanza xviii., *Golagros and Gawane.*

In the *Awntyrs of Arthure* there is obvious feeling of the beauty of the softer aspects of nature. Thus we find in the opening stanza one or two delicate touches :—

"In Kyng Arthure tyme, ane awntir by-tyde,
By the Terne Wathelyne, als the buke tellis,
Als he to Carelele was commene, that conqueroure kyde,[1]
Withe dukes and with ducheperes,[2] that with that dere duellys,
For to hunnte at the herdys, that lange hase been hyde;
And one a day thay tham dighte to the depe dellis,
To felle of the femmales, in the foreste wele frythede,
Faire in the fernysone[3] tyme, by frythis[4] and fellis[5]." [6]

We have here a fine line—

"And by the stremys so strange that swyftly swoghes[7]." [8]

The early romantic school of Scottish poetry, chiefly carried on by Huchowne of the Awle Ryale, may be said to have terminated with Clerk of Tranent in the fifteenth century. The poems, no doubt, continued to be read, at least by the higher classes, down to near the Reformation. James III. had, for example, a copy of the *Gesta de Gowane;* and one of the earliest works printed by the Scottish press, in 1508, was *The Knyghtly Tale of Golagrus and Gawene,* by Chepman and Millar. But the splendid struggles of the two national heroes, Wallace and Bruce, early absorbed the popular attention and admiration, awakened the interest of the native minstrels, and drew them to home themes, just as Charlemagne and his Paladins gradually banished from the

[1] Renowned. [2] Douze-pairs, as in France.
[3] Said to mean the close time in hunting, when the male deer were not allowed to be killed.
[4] Enclosed wood. [5] Hill, moor, better stretch of high moorland.
[6] Stanza i. [7] Soughs. [8] Stanza v.

Court of France the tales of Arthur and his companions. Out of the new material grew the first Scottish epic, *The Bruce* of Barbour, in the reign of Robert II., and the *Wallace* of Henry the Minstrel fully a century later, probably in 1460. Not only did the Arthurian themes cease to be the subjects of the longer Scottish poems; they were not even preserved in the ballad poetry of the country. There is no distinctively Scottish ballad which has expressly Arthur or any of his knights for its subject. We have, no doubt, now and again what is obviously a transformation of an Arthurian story into modern incident and actors, as in the case of *Burd Ellen* given by Jamieson, the same as the *Child Waters* of the south of the Border. These are plainly modernised versions of the *Lai le Freine,* given in English in the Auchinleck MS., and in Norman-French in the *Lais* of Marie, about 1250. The *King Henrie,* too, of Scott's *Minstrelsy* is probably a transformation of the *Marriage of Sir Gawaine,* though Scott refers the story ultimately to the Icelandic. But the historical ballads which form the great mass of the *Minstrelsy* refer almost universally to Scottish actors and incidents, so thoroughly did these take a hold of the popular imagination. There is probably an unconscious influence from the romance period in the ballads that refer to supernatural powers, and in the class called "Romantic." But the superstitions and the myths became so thoroughly localised, that all trace of their origin was unknown to those who were so deeply moved by them. The Anglo-Saxons south of the Border retained in more instances, and more directly, the Arthurian themes—as in *The Boy and the Mantle, Sir*

Lancelot du Lake, King Ryence's Challenge, King Arthur's Death, Legend of King Arthur, &c. These are distinctly localised in England; they are English in diction, and some of them are obviously fragments of the old English romances; while others, especially *Sir Lancelot du Lake*, and in great measure *King Ryence's Challenge*, are copied from the late *Morte Arthur*. In the Lowlands of Scotland, on the other hand, the allusions in the popular poetry to what were the prevailing topics of the early minstrelsy are few, slight, and indistinct. The names of localities alone, given in the prehistoric period, have faintly preserved, through the reigns of the Stewarts to our own times, the memory of Arthur and his associates in the district in which he had lived and fought.

This early use of the Angle of Northumbria as a written and cultivated speech is held by Scott as likely to account "for many anomalous peculiarities in the history of English romance and minstrelsy. In particular, it will show why the Northumbrians cultivated a species of music not known to the rest of England, and why the harpers and minstrels of the 'North Countree' are universally celebrated, by our ancient ballads, as of unrivalled excellence. If English, or a mixture of Saxon, Pictish, and Norman, became early the language of the Scottish Court, to which great part of Northumberland was subjected, the minstrels who crowded their camps must have used it in their songs. Thus, when the language began to gain ground in England, the northern minstrels, by whom it had already been long cultivated, were the best rehearsers of the poems already written, and the most apt and ready composers of new tales and

songs. It is probably owing to this circumstance that almost all the ancient English minstrel ballads bear marks of a northern origin, and are in general common to the Borders of both kingdoms. By this system we may also account for the superiority of the early Scottish over the early English poets, excepting always the unrivalled Chaucer. And, finally, to this we may ascribe the flow of romantic and poetical tradition, which has distinguished the Borders of Scotland almost down to the present day." [1]

This passage makes, perhaps, too little allowance for the Scandinavian element and influence on our popular poetry—an influence manifested especially in Northumbria and the Lowlands of Scotland. Giraldus Cambrensis, who refers to the peculiarity of the Northumbrian music as singing in parts in a low and high chant, is probably right when he attributes it to the Scandinavians.[2] There is, besides, not a sufficient recognition of the fact, subsequently brought out by Buchan and Kinloch, that the north-east of Scotland—embracing especially Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray—produced a large crop of song and ballad, independently altogether of the Border district. The same Scandinavian influence was at work there as that which helped to produce the ballad poetry of the Lowlands. And, further, there is every probability that, although the historic scenes of many of the Arthurian exploits can be traced to the kingdom of Strathclyde or

[1] *Minstrelsy*, Works, v. 70.

[2] "Anglorum populi, simul canendo symphoniaca utuntur harmonia, binis tamen solummodo tonorum differentiis, et vocum modulando varietatibus, una inferius, submurmurante, altera vero superne, demulcente pariter et delectante."—*Cambriæ Descriptio*, C. xiii. Quoted by Scott.

Cumbria, and the north of England generally, the poems celebrating them were chiefly framed in Armorica—the place of quiet retreat and refuge for the exiled Britons of our island—and that they thence came back to Britain itself, and also spread over the Courts of France and Germany in Norman-French.

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